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# BRITISH INDIA ANALYZED.

THE

## PROVINCIAL AND REVENUE *ESTABLISHMENTS*

OF

## TIPPOO SULTAUN

AND OF

## MAHOMEDAN AND BRITISH *CONQUERORS in HINDOSTAN,*

STATED AND CONSIDERED.

IN THREE PARTS.

### PART III.

Fuere reges, regna, turba gentium,
Fuit quod olim, vix fuiſſe jam putes;
Quodque eſt, fuiſſe vix putabunt poſteri.

LONDON:

Printed for E. JEFFERY, in Pall Mall; J. DEBRETT, in Piccadilly; and P. ELMSLEY, in the Strand.

1793.

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# *BRITISH INDIA.*

## PART III.

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# ERRATA.

## Title to PART II.

Motto, for *habes* read *habeo*.

## PART III.

Page 603, line 11, for *escaped a defile* read *a defile which led to*
668, — 11, for *tables* read *table*.
679, — 14, for *with adherent* read *and their adherents*
711, — 21, for *dependance* read *independence*
726, — 13, for *Nixam* read *Nizam*
730, — 13, for *tha the* read *that he*
736, — 15, for *ſhewt hem* read *ſhew them*
739, — 11, for *dte rmined* read *determined*
749, — 1, for *diſtrict* read *diſtricts*
804, — 16, for *granadiers* read *grenadiers*
806, — 14, for *circumſtanue* read *circumſtance*
814, — 9, for *engſins* read *enſigns*
824, — 7, for *extract* read *diſtracts*
830, — 7, for *expectations* read *expectation*
851, — 3, for *adventurers* read *adventures*
856, — 20, for *appears* read *appear*
857, — 25, after *limited* inſert *period of*
882, — 4, for *the King's* read *the King to*
888, — 10, for *are* read *is*
908, — 1, for *nda* read *and*
910, head, for 110 read 910
—— line, 10, for *Bitiſh* read *Britiſh*
—— note, for *omne* read *omni*
924, line, 8, for *Cotbut* read *Cotbat*
931, — 7, for *juridiction* read *juriſdiction*
—— laſt line, for *et* read *in*
936, note, for *deſſert* read *diſſert*
939, — 17, for *Zavier* read *Xavier*.

## CHAP. XV.

### *The Progreſs of the Connection of the* Engliſh *with* Britiſh India.

TO form a true eſtimate of the opinion, in which the natives in *India* and the *Britiſh* nation may be induced to coincide as to the treaties and arrangements of paſt times, at preſent urged ſo ſtrongly, and by the higheſt authority, on the feelings and honour of the nation, as prejudices deeply rooted in the minds and affections of the natives of *India*, as before ſtated *, I ſhall curſorily ſtate the ſentiments and circumſtances of the contracting parties.

When the Empire of *Hindoſtan* † was invaded, and in part conquered by the *Mogul Tartars* about the beginning of the 15th century, many of the *Rajahs*, or *Hindoo*

* Introduction, page xxxix.

† *Holwell*, Intereſting Hiſtorical Events, p. 103.

Princes of the country ſubmitted, with little oppoſition, to the invaders, on condition of holding their lands and principalities, paying a ſtipulated annual tribute; but others of them, diſdaining this tributary ſtate of ſlavery, retired to the ſouthward, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the moſt ſouthern parts of the *Decan*, they remained unmoleſted, until about the year 1654, the latter end of the reign of the Emperor *Shaw Jehawn*. His third ſon, *Aurengzebe*, being at that time *Soubah* of the *Decan*, or South, made a fruitleſs attempt on *Golconda*, inſtigated thereto by *Mhir Jemla*, who revolted to him from the then reigning *Rajah* of that famous city and adjoining country.

*Aurengzebe* ſucceeding to the Throne of *Hindoſtan* in the year 1659, purſued, by his generals, his former deſigns againſt the independant *Rajahs* on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, guided chiefly by the council and inſtructions of *Mhir Jemla*, by whoſe valour *Golconda* was reduced, and the whole coaſt ſubdued, from *Ganjam* to *Coleroon* river, that is, from the latitude of 11°40 to 19° 30 north.

The other promontory of *India*, called the coaſt of *Malabar*, from the borders of the province *Guzarat* to cape *Cormorin*, was never conquered by the *Mogul* Emperors, but the independant poſſeſſion of it was maintained by various *Rajahs*, the chief of whom was the *Rajah* of *Sittarah*: to theſe independant princes the diſtreſſed and diſpoſſeſſed *Rajahs* of *Coromandel* applied for ſuccour. They, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the *Mogul* arms, immediately united themſelves under the banners of the *Rajah* of *Sittarah*.

Theſe united princes and people were collectively known by the name of *Mahrattahs*, a word compounded of *Rattor* and *Maaha*, the firſt being the name of a particular *Raazpoot* tribe, and the latter ſignifying great or mighty, as explained by Mr. *Fraſer*.

The acquiſitions thus gained to the empire by the generals of *Aurengzebe*, coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, that the diamond mines of *Golconda* hardly proved an equivalent; for the confederate princes made

ſuch vigorous efforts to regain what they had loſt, and *Aurengzebe* was obliged to keep up ſo large an armament, that the expence of preſerving his new conqueſt exceeded the whole revenues acquired by it. The glorious vanity of having carried the conqueſt of the empire farther than any of his predeceſſors, determined him not to abandon them, until, at laſt, finding he ſhould riſque the loſs of the whole, he began to meditate coming to a treaty with them, which reſolution was haſtened by ſeveral bold attacks of the *Mahrattahs*, made on different parts of his dominions at the ſame time. On the ſide of his new ſouthern acquiſitions they carried fire and ſword, ſometimes into the province of *Dowlatabad*, and attacked the capital *Aurenjabad*, and from *Sittarah* they penetrated through the province of *Guzerat*, and ſometimes alarmed even the Court of *Delbi*, ſtriking a panic wherever they came.

*Aurengzebe*, ſeeing at length no proſpect of extending his conqueſts farther over theſe intrepid natives, thought it a wiſe meaſure to ſecure and keep, if poſſible, what he had got. To this end he entered

into a treaty with the confederate *Rajahs*, and, by a ſecret valuable conſideration given to the *Sehoo Rajah*, King of *Sittarah*, a peace was concluded on the following terms: "That *Aurengzebe* ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of his ſouthern conqueſts as far as the river *Coleroon* and the port *Surat*, and that in lieu thereof, the *Mahrattahs* ſhould receive and be entitled to, for ever, a *Chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of the *Decan*, to which *Soubahſhip* theſe new ſouthern conqueſts were annexed by the Emperor."

Thus a period was put to a war, that had chiefly employed the attention of near two thirds of *Aurengzebe*'s long and fortunate reign, by which ſo important an addition of territory and revenue was obtained, that had it been duly and honeſtly governed and adminiſtered, and the treaty kept inviolate on both ſides, would have yielded a perpetual ſource of riches to all ſucceeding Emperors on every emergency of the ſtate.

As long as *Aurengzebe* lived, the *Chout*

was duly paid to the *Mahrattahs*; but on his deceaſe the treaty began to be infringed, though it ſuffered no open rupture until the death of *Shaw Allum*, when the empire falling into a ſtate of univerſal confuſion, by the contentions that aroſe between his ſons for the ſucceſſion to the throne, and by the ſubſequent diſtractions during the deſpotic tyranny of the *Seyds*, little regard was paid to it on the part of the Government.

Things being in this ſituation, the *Mahrattahs* determined to pay themſelves by making incurſions on different ſides of the empire, laying the city of *Surat* under contribution; in which warfare they met with ſuch ſucceſs from the continued puſillanimity and diſtraction of the government, that at length they extended their claim and demand from the ſtipulated *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan*, to a *Chout* of the whole revenues of the empire.

When *Mahomed Shaw*, by the overthrow of the *Seyds* in 1719, attained ſecure poſſeſſion of the throne, ſome check was put

to their invaſions, and terms of accommodation being made with them, they, for ſome years, acquieſced to the terms of *Aurengzebe*'s treaty, and annually received the *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan* by their agents, out of the royal treaſury at *Delhi*, long after theſe revenues had loſt their way to court, by the uſurpation and independance of the traitor *Nizam Ul Moolk*.

In 1740 the deputies of *King Sittarah* arrived as uſual at *Delhi*, to receive the *Chout*; when they were given to underſtand "that *Nadir Shaw* had lately exhauſted the treaſury, and the Emperor was rendered utterly incapable of ſatisfying their demands; the more eſpecially, as the revenues of the *Bengal* provinces had been withheld from the year 1738 by the rebellion of *Aliverdi Khan*, who, in conjunction with his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, had uſurped that *Soubahdarry*, requeſting that the deputies would intreat their maſter in the Emperor's name to ſend an army, ſufficient to exact the amount of the *Chout* that was due to them; and alſo to take the heads of

*Aliverdi* and his brother, and reſtore the family of *Soujah Khan* to the *Soubahſhip*, as the then diſtracted ſtate of the empire put it out of his power to ſend a ſufficient force to reduce the two rebels." The *King* of *Sittarah* immediately ſent an army of 80,000 horſe into *Bengal*, by the weſtern hills of *Bierboheen*. *Aliverdi Khan* was then at *Cattack* reducing *Oriſſa*, and by forced marches reached near *Burdwan*, two days after the *Mahrattahs* had taken poſſeſſion of it. He there received *Beſchar Pundit*'s demands of "three years arrear of *chout*, the treaſuries of the two late *Soubahs*, and the appointment of an officer of their own to have a ſeat in every *Cutcherry* throughout the provinces to collect the *fourth* part of the cuſtoms on their behalf." *Aliverdi* received the propoſition with indignation, and determined to force his way through the enemy and to join his brother; the *Bengal* troops beginning to deſert, he did not delay: his principal dependance was on the *Patans*, and he ſucceeded in forcing a paſſage with much ſlaughter through the enemy, and gained the *Cutwah* road, in the courſe of which they

they effected a moſt memorable retreat of near three days and nights, being often ſurrounded and attacked on all ſides by the *Mahrattah* army, and as often repulſing and forcing their paſſage, until they arrived at *Cutwah* with only 2500 *Patans* and 1500 *Bengal* ſoldiers, kept firm to their duty by the example of the *Patans* and the intrepid behaviour of their *Jemmautdar*, *Jaffier Khan*. They were ſurrounded, and croſſed a river deemed unfordable; eſcaped a defile; the river being gallantly defended by *Muſtapha Khan*, *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*, with 80 *Patans*, againſt the whole army; and when they judged the *Soubah* had ſafely paſſed the river, this gallant band retreated gradually, and, though preſſed by the enemy, made good their paſſage of the river and joined the *Soubah* *. The *Mahrattahs*, after plundering the country, began to retire with the treaſure, to ſecure their retreat before the rains of June ſet in. When the rains broke up about the end of September, they returned: the conſternation of the inha-

* *Holwell*, Intereſting Events, p. 119.

bitants made them ſeek ſafety on the Eaſt ſide of the *Ganges*. It is obſerved by Mr. *Holwell*, * that the manufactures of the *Aurungs* received ſo injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever ſince loſt their original purity and eſtimation, and probably will never recover them. *Aliverdi*, unable to protect his country againſt the *Mahrattah* cavalry, or to bring them to any deciſive action, reſolved to treat; the overture only brought forth a demand, that *Soujah Khan*'s family ſhould be reſtored. Hoſtilities were continued; at laſt the uſurper propoſed a conference with *Boſchar Pundit*; 200 armed men had been concealed between the double lining of the ſpacious tent, erected between the two armies, and the *Mahrattah* General and his attendants were murdered. The *Mahrattahs* elected a new General, and they continued their ravages from the beginning of December 1742 to February 1743. Every art and endeavour to bring them to a battle proved ineffectual; at length, by aſtoniſhing bravery and perſeverance, he obliged them to

* *Holwell*, Intereſting Events, p. 124.

repair to their general rendezvous, and they retired over the *Bierboom* hills to *Sittarah*. They had no ſooner retreated than the uſurper was alarmed by another army of *Mahrattahs* entering the provinces by the way of *Cuttack*, commanded by *Rogajee*, and that a third army, commanded by *Ballajee Row*, had penetrated within a day or two's march of *Siclygully*; each army conſiſted of 60,000 horſe; the firſt ſent by *Sittarah* to enforce the orders given to *Boſchar Pundit*, the latter to join *Rogajee*, and avenge the murder of *Boſchar Pundit*. The armies joined in March, 1743, and the uſurper, unable to cope with ſuch force, opened a ſucceſsful negociation, through the means of *Seſſarow*, a *Mahrattah* priſoner, who had influence over *Ballajee Row*, to whom he was related. He agreed to cede to *Ballajee Row* alone the *Chout* of two years, and *Ballajee Row* engaged to ſatisfy *Rogajee*, or join the uſurper to drive *Rogajee* and his army out of the provinces. *Ballajee Row* retired with his army, and left *Rogajee* to ſhift for himſelf; this General immediately took poſſeſſion of *Oriſſa*; he ſent thither, with the title and authority of

General, *Mhir Nubbeb*, who had been collector of the revenues at *Dacca*, and to avoid anſwering his mal-adminiſtration to *Aliverdi*, had joined *Boſchar Pundit*, and continued high in the confidence of *Rogajee*. The uſurper employed all April and May without being able to bring *Rogajee* to a general action, and the rains ſetting in earlier than uſual, both armies went into quarters; the *Mahrattahs* remaining in quiet poſſeſſion of *Oriſſa* and all the country on the weſtern ſhore of the *Houghly* river, from *Ballaſore* to within a few miles of *Tanna*'s *Fort*, near the *Engliſh* ſettlement of *Fort William*. The armies of *Aliverdi* retired to *Moorſhtdabad*, and *Rogajee* with his main army to *Bierboom*, during the rains. It is not neceſſary to relate the events which ſucceeded each other till the year 1750, when at length a laſting peace was made with the *Mahrattahs*; *Aliverdi* alſo defeated the *Patans* and his beſt generals, who had revolted during that period of public calamity.

It muſt be ſuppoſed that the trade of the *Europeans* muſt have been greatly embar-

raſſed and injured, their effects plundered by the enemy, and theſe misfortunes much heightened by oppreſſive exactions of the uſurper; but foreigners then participated of oppreſſion, in great meaſure occaſioned by neceſſity. Though *Aliverdi* had poſſeſſed the treaſures of the *three* laſt *Soubahs*, yet ſo immenſe were his continual expences and diſburſements that little of them remained; for it is pretty well known that the retreat of *Ballajee Row* was not purchaſed for leſs than 5 *crores* of rupees *, though 22 *lacks* for two years *Chout* only were acknowledged. The ſcene of deſolation, treachery, and murder in which *Aliverdi* vigorouſly ſupported his uſurpation cannot but excite commiſeration, and the admiration of his intrepidity, conſtancy, and addreſs.

This recapitulation of the revolutions in *Bengal* will introduce the reader to the financial view of the *Bengal* provinces under the Company's government †, and alſo

* Hiſtorical Events, p. 152.

† Vide p. 313.

the political view of the period in which *Clive* recovered the *Britiſh* ſettlements in 1757, and inveſted with the dignity of *Soubah*, *Jaffier Khan*, who ſo long had ſupported the military glory of *Aliverdi Khan*; and from that time he was commonly known by the name *Meer Jaffier*.

When the *Madras* Government inveſted *Clive* with powers independant of the Governor and Council of *Fort William*, it was on the conviction of the *French* and *Engliſh* being on the eve of a war in *Europe*; and they ordered *Clive*, when he had reſtored the *Engliſh* to their poſſeſſions, by defeating *Serajah Dowla*, to reſign that independant power, and return to *Madras*. The Government and Council of *Madras* had ſent poſitive orders to him to return with part of his forces after the capture of *Chandenagore*; not knowing the cauſe, they could not account for his diſobedience; the conſequences to which he expoſed himſelf in caſe of miſcarriage could not eſcape him; under this difficulty he began his march to dethrone *Serajah Dowla*. *Meer Jaffier* and other chiefs had ſettled with Mr. *Watts* to

declare and join their forces; when *Clive* advanced they hesitated; a council of war decided against making an attack with the *English* force alone; after this, *Jaffier* sent word that he had sworn to *Serajah Dowla* on the *Koran* not to fight against them, therefore he could not assist him, but would not act against the *English*; *Clive* determined to attempt it, and with his small army obtained a complete victory.

When *Clive* settled the treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, and invested him with the dignity of *Soubah* as a reward for his treachery to *Serajah Dowla*, the ability and decision of *Clive* were manifested in obtaining his consent to certain conditions under which the Company could enjoy all its former privileges, and a farther security suited to the unsettled state of the provinces; *Clive* was then obliged to negociate and even purchase from *Meer Jaffier* concessions which would have baffled all his success if they had been made original conditions. On his return to *Europe*, among other charges, a loan of £.25,000 to *Meer Jaffier* was adduced, which he justified in the follow-

ing words *: "The real fact is, (if I may be ſuppoſed to know it, who then preſided over the Company's affairs in *Bengal*,) by the ninth article of the treaty with the *Nabob*, the Company's poſſeſſions would have been of little conſequence to them unleſs we were allowed to put not only our own conſtruction on the words of the article, but alſo to have an *additional* quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near £.12,000 *per annum*: in order to accompliſh this, we not only were obliged to comply with the *Nabob*'s requeſt, made at that particular time, but alſo to make preſents to ſeveral of the principal officers about him to engage his conſent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty. I *believe* the Directors know very well, if not, I am *ſure* the Governor and Council are well apprized of what conſequence it was to the Company to obtain the lands north of *Calcutta*. I will venture to affirm, had the *Nabob* deſired a loan of money at any other time but this, his requeſt would not have been complied

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 26.

with. The unfortunate *Meer Jaffier* was a ſtranger to diſtreſs until I had left the country; it was when the *King*'s ſon and a large body of *Mahrattahs* invaded and ravaged his country for a twelvemonth together, and had ſtopt the receipt of great part of his revenues; it was then the *Nabob* began, for the firſt time, to experience the misfortune of diſtreſs; yet it was not ſo great, but his ſucceſſor was able immediately to beſtow on the Company *eight lacks*, to carry on the war on the coaſt of *Coromandel*."

There can be very little doubt but *Meer Jaffier* intended to be in fact the *Soubah*, independant of the *Mogul*, by the aid of the *Engliſh*. Governor *Holwell* certainly had not diſguiſed his opinion, that the Company ought to be *Soubah*, in one of his letters to Colonel Caillaud, dated June 14, 1760*. "Had it ever been my wiſh or intention to have taken our ſupport from the preſent *Nabob*, and transfer it to another, your arguments in that caſe would

* *Holwell's India* Tracts, p. 51.

have all the weight with me they ſo greatly merit; but I think on the repreſentations in mine to you, and the copy of mine to Mr. *Amyat*, you will ſee that it was not my aim, for I concur minutely with your objections to ſuch a ſtep, and am clear we ſhould not mend our ſituation by a revolution in favour of any other, who would, you truely obſerve, prove as bad as the preſent, and probably worſe; but my views for the Company went much higher.—That the country will never be in a ſettled peaceful ſtate, while this family is at the head, is a poſition I lay down as inconteſtible; and that, until the country enjoys that ſtate, the Company's affairs muſt be daily approaching to certain ruin: I therefore judge we could never be poſſeſſed of a more favourable opportunity to carry into execution, what muſt be done, I plainly ſee, one time or other, (if the Company have ever a ſecure footing in the provinces), to wit, take this country into their own hands; limiting ourſelves to the province of *Bengal* only, or extending our views to thoſe of *Bahar* and *Orixa*, as on future debate might be thought moſt eligi-

ble. The ſituation of the Prince *(Mogul)*, at preſent, is ſuch, that I am ſure he would readily and heartily hearken to any overture from us; and, without heſitation, grant a *Phirmaund*, appointing the Company perpetual *Soubahs* of the country; his two *Phirmaunds* to me, as I before adviſed you, offered a *Carte Blanche* for the Company, and I dare ſay the one to you was of the ſame tenor."

Without entering into the conteſt of the parties of that day, it is evident that treaties, or reports of treaties alarmed the Governor of *Calcutta*; that the retreat of *Abdallah* before the *Vizir* encouraged *Meer Jaffier* to ſeek the aid of 30,000 *Mahrattahs*, at that time, aſſembled in two bodies; the one in *Cattack*, and the other at *Sitanagur* *; and the aſſiſtance of the *Vizir*, to drive *Shah Zadda* from the provinces; it was determined to remove *Meer Jaffier*: when obliged to abdicate, he ſaid "that he was betrayed; that the *Engliſh* were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he

* Letter of Mr. *Haſtings*, June 1760.

perceived their deſigns againſt his Government; and he had friends enow to hazard, at leaſt, one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the *Engliſh*, yet, as he had ſworn to be their friend, he would never ſwerve from his engagements, but rather ſuffer death than draw his ſword againſt them. This at leaſt muſt be called an evaſion of treaty. *Meer Coſſim*, recommended by Governor *Holwell* and Mr. *Haſtings* in 1760*, as a noble, good, and brave man, to ſucceed the *Nabob*, was proclaimed *Soubah*, when they forced *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, to reſign the Government; he alſo had ſoon occaſion to expreſs himſelf to Mr. *Vanſittart*, in a letter dictated by a ſenſe of the deepeſt injuries. "Sir, though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I ſhould never ſay any thing in behalf of the ſervants or dependants of the Company, nor you gentlemen interfere in behalf of the ſervants and dependants of the *Nizamut*; yet you gentlemen have regarded all this as utterly ob-

* *Vanſittart*, Vol. I. p. 75, *Nabob*'s Letter to Mr. *Holwell*, p. 40.

literated, and in contradiction thereto perſiſt in the violation of the treaty, and deſire to raiſe *your own name* and eſtabliſh *your own cuſtoms*. I am remedileſs *."

The *Nabob*, however, took the true and ſenſible mode to ſave his country, when he could not ſave his revenue; this he ſtated in anſwer to Meſſrs. *Amyatt* and *Hays*'s demands in the following words: "As I have nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye pleaſe; nor will any meddle or interfere therein; after the time of exemption is expired, every officer will *again interfere* for duties; then ye will prove your rights from grants, and I will anſwer you †." At this period, it is evident that the Company could not legally raiſe a ſhilling by *cuſtoms* on the country, and their relation to their fellow ſubjects

* *Vanſittart*, Vol. III. p. 206, *Nabob*'s Letter, May 2, 1763.

† Ibid. Vol. III. 229.

was limited by their Charter and Parliament. This reſolution however was the criſis; and this act of rebellion was the ſignal for a revolution which plunged the provinces in war, and reſtored *Meer Jaffier* to the Government.

*Meer Coſſim* deſerves, at leaſt, juſtice in the page of hiſtory; his government deſerves the cloſe and impartial examination of the Board of Control; the revenues of *Great Britain* in *Britiſh India* ſtand on the foundation which he maintained; and the Company cannot ſerve their own intereſt and the intereſt of the public in *Europe* and in *India*, unleſs it forgets its own pretenſions, and faithfully diſcharges its agency of the cuſtoms on behalf of the State; by which, as I have before obſerved, a good ſyſtem of impoſts can alone be eſtabliſhed and ſimplified.

I ſhall proceed to inveſtigate, in a few more examples, the degree of weight which the contracting parties in *India* gave to the treaties, becauſe this year they are not conſidered as objects of regret, but are

recommended to the humanity and the juſtice of the *Britiſh* nation *, by the high authority of Mr. *Dundas*, by the plans for *India*, and by Mr. *Ruſſell*.

It is clearly ſtated in Mr. *Amyatt*'s minute †, "The *Sunnuds* by which we hold our late acquiſitions are only *Tuncaws*, or an aſſignment of theſe provinces, towards the defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the aſſiſtance of the *Nabob*. In the preſent temper of the *Nabob*, this, ſo weak a title, can hardly fail of proving a freſh ſource of diſpute; he already ſhews a total diſinclination to the uſe of our troops, and may, whenever he thinks himſelf in a condition to call our right in queſtion, tell us he has no longer occaſion for them, therefore will withdraw that revenue; to prevent ſuch pleas on the part of the *Soubah*, and to eſtabliſh our rights to theſe lands as to *Jageers*, by the fulleſt and moſt *authentic*

* Introduction, p. xxxii.

† *Vanſittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt*'s Minute, 15th February, 1763.

*Sunnuds*, and ſuch that hereafter may be ever indiſputable, ſhould other *European nations* come to take part in the affairs of *Bengal*, ſeems a point extremely requiſite to be now conſidered: the Company, for want of this matter being clearly explained, moſt probably ſuppoſe that the *preſent Sunnuds* are of the moſt extenſive and indiſputable kind, whereas, in fact, *our force* more than *title* can ſupport us in the poſſeſſion of them." We have a farther confirmation of the real importance of the native grants at that time, in a note of Governor *Vanſittart* to the above minute*. "The nature of the *grants* by which the Company poſſeſs thoſe lands is of very little moment; it is by the treaty with the *Nabob* they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendſhip and alliance ſubſiſts, *he* cannot diſpute their right; if a breach of that friendſhip happens, and a war break out, he will diſpoſſeſs us if he is able, and that he would if we had the *King*'s *Firmaund*; therefore the form of the grant is

* *Vanſittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt*'s Minute, 15th February, 1763.

of no conſequence; and this will be found to be the opinion of *all* the Council when they entered into a new treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, at which time none of them thought there was any neceſſity of demanding *Jaghire Sunnuds*."

It appears, however, from the negociations with *Meer Jaffier*, that the Company's ſervants required grants more extenſive than *Jageer* in behalf of the Company; and "*Meer Jaffier* objected to the words, 'that the three provinces ſhall be inveſted in the Company for ever;' alledging that, in fact, it is not material to the Company, as any future *Nabob*, who was inclined and able to diſpute the Company's poſſeſſions, might inſiſt it was a ceſſion which he had no right to make; and that the ſame might be objected to his prejudice by the *King* if he comes to be eſtabliſhed at *Delhi*, and therefore deſire the article may remain as formerly *." The teſtimony of Lord *Clive* † does not invalidate

* *Vanſittart's* Narrative, Vol. III. p. 356.

† Letter to the Proprietors of *Eaſt-India* Stock, 1764.

this ſtatement; he informs the Proprietors, that when the *Nabob Meer Jaffier*, in 1759, notified by *Jagger Seat* that he was made an *Omrah*, he inquired where the *Jageer* uſually annexed to that dignity was located, to which he was anſwered, that the *Nabob* never granted *Jageers* in *Bengal*, that *Oriſſa* was too poor, but that he might have one in *Bahar*; but it was only after the ſucceſs of the *Engliſh* over the King's ſon he was informed of the amount, and that it was granted in *Bengal*. Lord *Clive* obſerves, "It gave me the greater pleaſure to find it to be the *lordſhip* of the Company's lands, becauſe the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on Government." "The lands ceded to the Company by the ninth article of the treaty with *Meer Jaffier* were only ceded as perpetual *Zemindars*, or renters, the *Nabob* reſerving the lordſhip and quit-rent, which amounted to £.30,000 a year, and the Company could never be lawfully diſpoſſeſſed ſo long as they continued to pay that quit-rent." It was then the lordſhip and rents ſo reſerved that the *Nabob* tranſferred to Lord *Clive*, and no prejudice

aroſe to the Company's revenue*; the grant paſſed all the uſual forms of the country, was founded on the very ſame authority with that the Company had for all their acquiſitions, the *power of a Soubah*; yet in May, 1764, the Directors apply the reaſoning of Mr. *Amyatt*'s minute to ſuſpend the payment of Lord *Clive*'s *Jageer*. Mr. *Sullivan* informed the Preſident of *Fort William*, "that all cordiality being at an end with Lord *Clive*, the Court of Directors had ſtopped payment of the *Jageer*;" and in effect the Directors ordered this *Jageer* to be carried to their *own* account, and announce that his Lordſhip's pretenſions ſhall be ſettled in *London*; on which Lord *Clive* obſerves, "the Directors at once boldly affirm my *Jageer* to be determined by the removal of *Meer Jaffier* from the throne, ſince the grant, as they alledge, did not bind his ſucceſſor, without the leaſt conſideration of the natural inference ſuch an aſſertion would produce†."

* Letter to the Proprietors of *Eaſt-India* Stock, p. 36.

† Ibid. p. 52.

It was not therefore without reaſon Lord *Clive*, on his return to *India*, in 1765, was impreſſed with the arbitrary diſtinctions in the conſtruction of a *Soubah*'s grants acquired for the *Engliſh*, grants from the *Mogul* of all the territory in which the *Britiſh* armies had diſputed the power of *France* and of uſurpers. But we are now told that humanity calls on *Great Britain* to attend to the feelings and prejudices of the natives, by giving effect to treaties they underſtand, and which are connected with their well-being; to this error I ſhall only adduce the teſtimony of the Governor and Select Committee of *Bengal* to the Directors, January 31, 1766. "To us it evidently appears, there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done and graſp at the whole power, or ſhrink back into our primitive condition of ſimple merchants; to abandon our poſſeſſions, diſband our forces, and reſt our future hopes on the clemency of Princes who will not eaſily forget or forgive the ſuperiority we have maintained; in a word, this laſt meaſure was impracticable, for we muſt obſerve, although with much regret, that

the miſconduct of individuals hath rendered the *Engliſh* name ſo *odious*, that we are no longer ſecure than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and properties *."

The ceremony with which the Company was inveſted with the *Dewanne*, is ſtated by the gentlemen who were ſent from *Calcutta* for that purpoſe, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated April 30, 1766. "We thought it by no means adviſeable to deviate, upon ſlight occaſions, from the eſtabliſhed forms and cuſtoms of the anniverſary of the *Poonah*, and, therefore, accepted, for ourſelves and for you, the uſual preſents of a dreſs and *elephant* to each; which ſhall be forwarded by the firſt opportunity. This expence hath formerly been charged to the Government; it muſt therefore now be brought to the Company's account; but, as the amount is very inconſiderable, it is ſcarce worth while to introduce any innovation to leſſen our dig-

* Appendix to the Report of the *Eaſt-India* Company, 1772, No. 46.

nity in the eyes of the people *." After which the ſeal of the Company's Government bore an inſcription, of which the following is a tranſlation:

" The Magnificent Merchants of the *Eaſt-India* Company; the *Dewans* of the Magnificent Provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*; Servants of the Bold King, *Shaw Allum* †."

On the 30th September, 1765, Lord *Clive* had given an account of his ſucceſs to the Directors; in which he clearly defines the conditions and the benefit of his arrangement. He ſays, " The allowance for the ſupport of the *Nabob*'s dignity and power, and the tribute to his Majeſty, muſt be regularly paid; the remainder belongs to the Company:" but, in May 1770, the *Bengal* Select Committee conſidered the propriety of curtailing theſe allowances, on account of the famine. " It appearing

* *Eaſt-India* Reports, Vol. II. p. 18.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 161. A Short Hiſtory of *Engliſh* Tranſactions from 1756 to 1763.

to the Committee highly neceſſary and reaſonable, that the tribute, ſtipends, and all extraordinary iſſues whatever, ſhould give place to the more urgent calls of Government;" and the letter to *Richard Becher*, Eſq. then Reſident at the *Durbar*, convey the order: "With concern we obſerve the great and alarming diſproportion of your receipts to your diſburſements; and, at the ſame time, we lament the calamities of the country. In conjunctures like this, neceſſity compells us to make the conveniences of dependants, and even the letter of engagements, ſubſervient to the exigences of the ſtate;" "It would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any *tribute* or ſtipend before the ſupport of our own Government; the exact ſum which ſhould be withheld from each article, we would not preciſely determine, but we expect you will, at leaſt, keep back 30 lacks, between this period and the 17th of October *;" and the Directors in 1771 confirm this principle, and order

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 4.

farther reduction of the Miniſters' allowances. "At a time when every *juſtifiable* meaſure ſhould be adopted, for availing the public and the Company of all the advantages, we had in proſpect, from the poſſeſſion of the *Dewannee*, we cannot but reflect on the diſſipation of a conſiderable part thereof by the allowances to the *Nabob*'s Miniſters, &c*."

Theſe inſtances may ſuffice. I ſhall, however, add two obſervations which will farther illuſtrate the circumſtances of the provinces, at the periods ſeparately conſidered in the preceding review of the financial arrangements of the Company.

When the *Eaſt-India* Company in 1698, aſſerted the pretenſions which Mr. *Ruſſell* has revived, they informed Parliament, that, in ſome royal charters, they had been denominated *Lords Proprietors* of *Bombay* and *St. Helena*, poſſeſſions veſted in the Crown, as Dower to the Queen of Charles the Second. The total produce of

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 2.

thoſe ſettlements and the factories of Fort *George*, Fort *St. Davids*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, and *Perſia*, including cuſtoms, and *licences* to ſell ſpirituous liquors, amounted to 44,000l *.

In 1760 the Company's military and other charges in *Bengal* amounted to 200,000l. *per annum*, and their net revenue did not exceed 80,000l †.

In the preſent year, the net ſum of the landed eſtates and cuſtoms of the Company, viz. *Calcutta* and its *Pergunnahs*, *Madras* and its *Jageer*, the five Northern *Circars*, the Iſlands of *Bombay* and *St. Helena*, *Cuddalore*, *Pinang*, and *Bencoolen*, are ſtated by Mr. *Ruſſell* ‡ and by Mr. *Dundas* § to produce a groſs income of 500,000l. a year, or 400,000l. a year net income, being at leaſt 250,000l. a year,

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698, and *Anderſon's* Hiſtory of Commerce.

† *Vanſittart.*

‡ Short Hiſtory, p. 36.

§ Parliamentary Debates, 1793, and Sketch of Mr. *Dundas's* Speech referred to, Introduction, p. xxxix.

after allowing its due proportion for the general defence. Mr. *Ruſſell* confines his inquiry to the merits which relate to the town, port, and diſtrict of *Maſſulipatam*, and to the five Northern *Circars*, from a perſuaſion that they will be found intrinſically of the firſt importance, among the other claims with which they are claſſed; and, becauſe by an inveſtigation and diſcuſſion of the merits whereon the legal right to theſe diſtricts ſeem to depend, it is not improbable but ſome rule or principle may be eſtabliſhed with regard to all, or ſome of the others *. Accordingly we find that the groſs rent of the Northern *Circars* is eſtimated by Mr. *Ruſſell* † at - - - - - - - 240,000

The *Guntoor Circar*, at - - - 90,000

330,000

From which groſs rent he deducts the net rent paid to the *Nizam* - - - - - - - - 70,000

There remains therefore groſs rent 260,000

* Short Hiſtory, page 54.

† Ibid. page 34.

I have already ſhewn * the amount of the real value of the revenues of the Northern *Circars*.

In the next place, Mr. *Ruſſell* conſiders, as the Company's eſtates,

1. Thoſe poſſeſſed by the Company prior to 1755, as ſtated in the Third Report of the Secret Committee, 1772.

2. The territories and revenues ceded to the Company by the *Mogul*, the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, viz. the *Purgunnahs* and *Zemindary* of *Calcutta*, the ceded lands *Midnapore* and *Chittagong* †, the diſtrict of *Maſſulipatam*, the five Northern *Circars*, and the *Jaggeer* lands at *Madras*.

Theſe are Mr. *Ruſſell*'s debatable lands.

3. The provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and part of *Oriſſa*, terminated by the *Cattack*,

* Vide page 240.

† In the 2d edit. Mr. *Ruſſell* inſerted the ceded lands, which, I believe, he had forgot in his 1ſt edition.

the diſtrict of *Benares*, the countries in the *Carnatic*, and on the *Malabar* coaſt, lately obtained by treaty from *Tippoo Sultaun*. All theſe territories, acquired by conqueſt, according to Mr. *Ruſſell*, are claims of the public, as property of the ſtate, on a maxim *of law*, that all territories obtained by *conqueſt* veſt in the Crown.

To this arbitrary diviſion I ſubſtitute two.

1. All ſettlements made for the purpoſe of trade, and for its ſecurity, at any time, by the Company, under the authority of Royal Charters, whether granted by *Sunnud*, by native princes, or by their permiſſion, purchaſed from native landholders adjoining to their ſettlements, as in the inſtance of thirty-ſeven villages contiguous to *Calcutta*, conſtitute the territorial eſtate of the Company.

2. All territory not ſpecially for the purpoſes of trade, obtained by conqueſt, grant, or treaty; and all revenues ariſing therefrom, and to which acts of ſove-

reignty neceſſarily attach, whether for the purpoſes of police, or protection of property, conſtitute the property of the *crown* in behalf of the ſtate, ſubject to the controul of the Legiſlature; and the Executive Government and Parliament muſt be equally vigilant, when the rights of the Sovereign are attempted to be ſequeſtered or eluded, as when the Company, under permiſſion either of *Britiſh* or native Government to purchaſe, ſhall ſeize lands without the conſent of its owners.

The whole of Mr. *Ruſſell*'s caſe reſts on his diſtinguiſhing *Maſſulipatam* from the *Circars*: he has given a detailed narrative of the acquiſition of thoſe diſtricts; and in another ſection he has related the acquiſition of the *Circars*. He admits the right of the King of *England* in the firſt caſe, founded on conqueſt *: "becauſe *Maſſulipatam* had been held as a *Fief* of the *Indian* Empire, and that the change of hands could not alter the rights of the *Mogul* or his *Soubah*, as the paramount Lords. We

* Short Hiſtory, p. 65.

are ready to admit, that the King, by his prerogative, muſt, of neceſſity, be the *ſummus Dominus ſupra omnes* over all territories held by him; that lands in his poſſion are free from every tenure; that he can neither be a joint tenant with another, nor hold of another; but with this admiſſion, and though in fact the *Soubah* had taken no part in the hoſtilities between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, they being feudatories of the *Soubah*, it muſt, to every legal intent, be held as levying war againſt that power alſo; and, that by the conqueſt, the ſovereignty, as well as the ſoil, became inſtantly annexed to the Crown of *England*. If the *French* had themſelves the ſovereignty, the legal effect would have been the ſame. The ſubſequent agreement by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung*, could not change or vary the nature of the King's title to *Maſſulipatam* once acquired; nor under the charter of 1757, *could* the Company reſtore it, becauſe they were reſtrained from ceding back any acquiſitions belonging to the *European* ſtates. The treaty of peace in 1763 completely eſtabliſhed the right of the King, the *French* having

thereby renounced all their acquiſitions on the coaſt, except their factories, which alone were reſtored to them."

Mr. *Ruſſell* admits, that Mr. *Buſſy* had obtained from the *Soubah*, *Salabut Jung*, for the *French*, the Five *Circars*, as well as *Maſſulipatam*. It is not neceſſary to argue that Colonel *Ford*, by his conquering the *French* at *Maſſulipatam*, diſpoſſeſſed the *French* of the *Circars*. Lord *Clive* told the Proprietors that * "the reduction of *Maſſulipatam*, the Four Northern Provinces, and the making all the *French* army there priſoners, greatly contributed to our ſucceſs at *Fort George*;" if any agreement was entered into by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung* to retain only *Maſſulipatam*, on his own confeſſion the agreement was void, it being contrary to the charter of 1757, to reſtitute. The negociations of Mr. *Alexander* with *Nizam Alli* in 1760, and the rejection of his *Sunnuds*, cannot have any weight; if founded on political wiſdom, it aroſe from the Company not accepting

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8.

a worſe title from the uſurper than they had by conqueſt; and if the treaty of *Paris* * is referred to in ſupport of our right, how comes Mr. *Ruſſell* to forget, that *Salabut Jung* is guaranteed by that treaty to be the lawful *Nizam*? In one page Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, "it appears, that ſo early as 1760, *Nizam Ally*, who, in conſequence of his brother, being deſerted by the *French*, had aſſumed the *Soubahſhip*, viſited the *Circars*, and was attended at *Rajamundrum* by Mr. *Alexander*." In the next, †"The new *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the Government of the *Decan*, under a grant from the *Mogul*;" in 1764 the *Madras* Government open a negociation with the *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, for a grant of the *Circars*, which failed; and in 1765 Lord *Clive* obtained the grant from the *Mogul*, on which he acted. Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, "War, however, was, if poſſible, to be avoided; treachery, chicanery, and bribery were ſubſtituted as ſafer inſtruments ‡."

* Mr. *Ruſſell* calls it the Treaty of *Verſailles*.

† Short Hiſtory, p. 64 and 65. ‡ Ibid. p. 67.

The fort of *Condipelly* was a poſt neceſſary to command the principal paſs from *Ellore* to *Hyderabad*, this, Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, "moſt probably was a *device* concerted to create a panic in the *Nizam*;" "this bare act of taking poſſeſſion of the defenceleſs fort of *Condipelly* and the *paſs* cannot ſurely be deemed a conqueſt of the *Circars*; it is much to be doubted if that fort is deemed a part of the *Circars**:" it is extraordinary that Mr. *Ruſſell* ſhould not remember that *Condaphillee* and *Muſtapha Nagur* are ſynonimous names of one of the *Circars*; but he farther obſerves, "it might as well be argued, that by the capture of *Breda* the *French* had accompliſhed the conqueſt of the United Provinces, as that a country 600 miles in length on the ſea coaſt was conquered by taking the Hill Fort ſituated at the weſtern extremity of it." Such reaſoning can be of little weight, for the caſes are not parallel, from the difference of the natural barriers in the two countries; beſides, it is not neceſſary to prove that the *Circars* were twice conquered,

* Short Hiſtory, p. 71.

becauſe Mr. *Ruſſell*, from the ſame authority by which he proves * that *Maſſulipatam* under the *French* was "diſtinct from the places dependant on it, as well as from the ſubſequent acquiſitions of the *French* in the *Northern Circars*," might find diſtinct evidence of the contrary poſition. Mr. *Dupleix*'s celebrated addreſs to the *French* nation, adduces evidence of the political importance, and of the geographical diviſion, of the country in queſtion. Mr. *Dupleix*, on his review of the propoſed equalization of the *Engliſh* and *French* Companies in *India*, in the time of Governor *Godeheu* and Governor *Saunders*, obſerves, that *Maſſulipatam*, from its ſituation, is the key to the northern commerce of the *Decan* †. It was alſo then ſtated to the *Syndics* and *Directors* of the *French* Company, that the giving *Maſſulipatam* and *Divi* to obtain quiet poſſeſſion of *Nizampatam* and *Condavir*, would be like renouncing *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Alſace*, to keep *Lorraine* ‡. Mr. *Ruſſell* perhaps

* Short Hiſtory, p. 60, refers to *Dupleix* Mem.

† Memoire de *M. de Moracin*, p. 95,

‡ Mem. concernant l'Etat, &c. dans les *Indes*, p. 67.

did not recollect that the ſtatements of the revenues of the diſtinct parts of the *French* poſſeſſions refer merely to that negociation, and Mr. *Dupleix* expreſsly ſtates that *Maſſulipatam* and its dependencies form a part of the province of *Raja Mundry* *; conſequently, driving out the *French* in 1759, and taking poſſeſſion of *Maſſulipatam*, was, in fact, taking poſſeſſion of the northern provinces: and in the year 1765, the Company being in poſſeſſion of *Maſſulipatam*, the taking poſſeſſion of the fort of *Condipelly* and the paſs, under the *Mogul*'s grant, was all that was neceſſary to ſecure the whole *Northern Circars*, without renewal of hoſtilities with the *French*. Mr. *Ruſſell* admits the *Mogul*'s *Sunnuds* were *then* publiſhed, and every *Zemindar* immediately acknowledged the Company as their ſovereign †.

In vain will Mr. *Ruſſell* puzzle among the negociations with *Salabut Jung* ſubſequent to the conqueſt of the *Circars* in

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 142. Obſervations ſur les Articles.

† Short Hiſtory, p. 68.

1759; the ſtatements printed by the Company and by *Orme*, and the diſpatches of Colonel *Ford*, all differ; but Mr. *Ruſſell* may ſee in *Orme* that the *Madras* Government ſent a commercial chief to *Maſſulipatam*, and that Colonel *Ford* waited for the orders of *Clive*, this military and political operation having been conducted by his ſole direction. Mr. *Ruſſell* forgets the unlimited powers delegated to *Clive* when he was detached in 1757 to re-poſſeſs the *Engliſh*, who were driven on board their ſhips; he cannot ſeriouſly ſuppoſe that in the critical ſituation of the *Engliſh* affairs in *Bengal*, *Clive* would have detached half his army into the *Decan* only to eſtabliſh a factory at *Maſſulipatam*, when they had not a ſhilling to make an inveſtment: in September, 1758, he ſent 420 *Europeans* and 1,400 ſeapoys, and incurred the expence of half a million ſterling; and in *Bengal*, *Clive* took the field in March, 1759, with only 400 *Europeans* and 2,500 ſeapoys*. *Clive* meant no ſuch ſtatement when he informed the proprietors that "the re-

* *Scrafton*'s Sketch, p. 117, 119.

duction of *Maſſulipatam*, the *four northern provinces*, and the making all the *French* army there priſoners, greatly contributed to our ſucceſs at *Fort St. George**;" there the *French* "met with a reſiſtance ſuitable to the importance of the object; and I am perſuaded that Meſſrs. *Pigott*, *Lawrence*, *Draper*, and many other gentlemen of that garriſon, would have been buried under its ruins ſooner than have ſurrendered the place†." The confidence of men of honour at the head of the *Britiſh* intereſts in *India* at that time made up for the inferiority of force, and the ignorance of their employers, and of the nation: if it requires more to ſhew the ability of *Clive* and the importance of the *Circars* in his eſtimation, I may add, that at the time he had detached ſo great a part of his force to the *Circars*, ſeven *Dutch* ſhips with 600 *European* and more native troops landed in *Bengal*; Colonel *Ford* having given up his command in the *Decan*, was employed to prevent the junction of this ſuſpiciouſly

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.

† Ibid.

well-timed reinforcement, from joining the *Dutch* factory; he gained a complete victory over them, and the *Dutch* were incapacitated from embroiling farther the affairs of the *Engliſh*. In their memorials the *Dutch*, in 1762, claim their privileges under the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund*, and contended that the *Nabob* was only a governor of the provinces, and was not authoriſed to infringe the *Mogul*'s grant. The Directors, in their memorial to the King, anſwer, that the *Nabob* of *Bengal*, from the *Mogul*'s inability to maintain his rights, was *de facto*, whatever he might be *de jure*, a ſovereign Prince, or at worſt not a *Viceroy*, but a tributary to the *Mogul* *.

Mr. *Ruſſell*, however, in his firſt edition, modeſtly, "with ſubmiſſion to better judges," ſtates the *Circars* being held merely as a *farm* under *Nizam Alli*, at a rent of about £.70,000 a year, to ſtand on ſimilar footing with the *Jageer* lands; but in his ſecond edition, he concludes his elaborate additional chapter, "upon the

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 50.

whole, we retain the opinion formerly given in the third chapter, that in point of law the Crown and the public have no claim againſt the Company in the *Northern Circars*, and that they are held by the Company as *Jageerdars* to the *Mogul*, (a ſpecies of military tenure by which they are to furniſh a number of cavalry determinable by the King's books,) paying at the ſame time, by voluntary compact, a fixed tribute to the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, who is the *nominal* Viceroy and repreſentative of the *Mogul* in thoſe parts." All this refinement will vaniſh before the true hiſtorical and political facts. The *Mogul*'s grant in 1765 came ſubſequent to the conqueſt in 1759; no act of the *Madras* Government was valid for reſtitution of conqueſts made from the *French*; having connected the *Mogul*'s grant in point of date, according to Mr. *Ruſſell*'s deductions, I ſhall conclude "that the law hath caſt the legal eſtate by the conqueſt upon the King; and any grants made ſubſequent to the King's title once acquired, though made by the conquered party and former owner to the real conqueror, are unavail-

able, and cannot operate to diveſt the King of what he had been previouſly inveſted with *." The tedious negociation to avert farther warfare, led to an agreement with the *Nizam* in 1766; the grant or *Jageer* which he had given to his brother *Bazalet Jung* was allowed to continue during his life, with an annual ſubſidy or rent of nine lacks, which ought to have been diſcontinued in Auguſt, 1767, when the *Nizam* openly joined the army of *Hyder* at *Bangalore*; for the payment to the *Nizam* was not to acquire a right, but to purchaſe amity and peace. If right guaranteed by treaty had decided, and the *Mogul*'s grant had been laid aſide, *Salabut Jung*, and not *Nizam Alli*, muſt have been the Sovereign to treat with, according to the treaty of *Paris*; but I heartily agree with Mr. *Ruſſell*, that "to raiſe a queſtion at this day on the efficacy of the *Mogul*'s grant to the Company would be abſurd and prepoſterous, as ſtriking at the very root of their titles to various parts of our poſſeſſions in *India* †." To ſatisfy Mr. *Ruſſell*'s and the

* Short Hiſtory, p. 70. † Ibid.

public's geographical doubts, I ſhall make an extract from Mr. *Grant*'s political ſurvey of the *Northern Circars*, an official report made to the *Bengal* Government after his return from an official reſidence at the court of the *Nizam*. This work, being equally acceſſible to Mr. *Ruſſell* as other documents which he has adopted, ſhould have ſaved me the diſagreable office of commenting on his error.

## CHAP. XVI.

### *A POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.*

#### *Extent and Boundary.*

THAT portion of the *Britiſh* dominion on the *Coromandel* coaſt commonly called the *Northern Circars*, from its relative ſituation to *Fort St. George*, is a narrow ſlip of maritime country extending from 15½° to the 20th degree of north latitude; and from 79°½ to 85°½ eaſt longitude

from *Greenwich*. The ſea bounds it to the *Eaſt* in a direct courſe N. E. ½ E., along a coaſt 470 meaſured miles in length, from *Mootapillee*, dependant on *Guntour*, near its ſouthern extremity, to the town of *Maloud* in *Oriſſa*, on the borders of the *Chilka* lake. In almoſt a parallel direction on the *Weſt*, from fifty to ſeventy miles in land, it is divided from the interior provinces of the *Soubah* of *Hydrabad* by a range of ſmall detached hills extending to the banks of the *Goadaveri*; and in like manner ſeparated from *Berar*, to the north of that river, by a great continued ridge of mountains, impaſſable, every where hitherto explored, for horſe or wheel carriage, excepting in the middle near *Salour-gaut*, quite in the northern extremity of the *Circars* at *Goomſur*. From this laſt place the ſame unbroken chain curves to the eaſtward, and together with the *Chilka* lake, form an almoſt impenetrable barrier of fifty miles to the *North*, on the ſide of the *Mahrattahs* of *Cuttack*, excepting a tongue of land, between that lake and the ſea, a mile in breadth at *Maloud*, and interſected by the deep water communication of *Manicpatam*, at all times

unfordable. Towards the *ſouth*, the ſmall river *Gondegama*, which empties itſelf at *Mootapillee*, ſeparates the territory we are deſcribing, from the diſtricts of *Ongole*, and thus formeth, on that ſide, the moſt diſtinguiſhable modern frontier to the *Carnatic Payengaut*.

The *Area*, or ſuperficial contents of the *Circars*, taken in their greateſt extent of acceſſible, productive land, may be computed at 17,000 ſquare geographic miles; of which, perhaps, only *one fifth* in cultivation or fallow; *twice* that proportion in paſture, and the *remainder* woods, water, towns, barren hills, or a ſandy waſte, three miles in breadth, bordering the whole extent of the coaſt. By another diviſion, *three fourths* of this area may be conſidered a *plain*, riſing no where more than 25 feet above the level of the ſea, and ſtretching on a medium 35 miles inland, with only two remarkable interruptions in its greateſt length along the ſhore, by as many croſs, or rather inclined ridges of hills; the one a few miles north of the river *Settiaveram*, which forms the ſouthern boundary of

*Cicacole*; and the other, parting unequally that province, at the river *Poondy*, into its preſent ſubdiviſions, dependant on *Vizagapatam* and *Ganjam*: the remaining *fourth portion*, parallel to this plain, and farther inland about 15 miles, is much more elevated, is agreeably variegated with hills and vales, eaſy of acceſs, and ſuperabundantly fertile. But beyond both theſe tracts of plain and hilly ground, to the *north* of the *Goadaveri*, a ſtill higher region extends cloſe to the great ridge of mountains on the confines of *Berar*. This comprehends at leaſt 6000 ſquare miles additional; but being poor, unhealthy, and thinly inhabited, pays ſo ſlender a tribute, that it is ſcarcely made any account of, unleſs as a frontier towards the *Mahrattah* Dominions on the N. W. almoſt wholly nacceſſible.

*Six Provincial Diviſions.*

THE grand diviſions of this whole territory are naturally and properly *five*; being ſo many portions of its length, princi-

pally marked by rivers, running acroſs from the hills on the weſt to the ſea; but beſides theſe, a *ſixth* diſtrict has been formed from the maritime border of the four ſoutherly *Circars* or Provinces, to ſerve as an appendage to, and ſecure the ſalt made, or cuſtoms collected at, the ports of *Nizampatam*, on a ſouthern outlet of the *Kiſtna*, and of *Maſſulipatam* on one of its northern branches, as well as at their reſpective dependencies along the coaſt.

1. *Guntour*, or *Moorteza-nagur*, the moſt ſoutherly province, is of a circular form, comprehending an area of 2500 ſquare miles. The river *Kiſtna*, after running a courſe of 600 miles, nearly on the parallel of 16° ¼ latitude, from its ſource on the *Balagaut* hills, near the coaſt of *Malabar*, forms the northern boundary of this *Circar*, and ſeparates it, in its greateſt extent on that ſide, from the province of *Muſtafanagur*. The boundaries to the *Weſt* and *South*, are the diſtricts of *Palnaud* and *Ongole*, formerly dependant on the *Fougedarry* of *Kerpah*, but ſometime ſince incorporated with the *Carnatic Payengaut*, and on the

*East*, *Nizampatam*, with its dependencies, intervene every where between it and the ſea, excepting a narrow communication with the ſmall port of *Mootapille*, which, in the confuſion of frequent revolutions, has been diſmembered from its proper maritime capital, and annexed to the interior country. This province therefore, generally ſpeaking, is entirely ſurrounded by the other dominions of *Britain*, and abſolutely detached from all the territory ſtill claimed, and held formally, by the *Soubahdar* of the *Decan*, under the Crown of *Delhi*.

2. *Condapillee*, or *Muſtafa-nagur*; and, 3. *Ellore*, adjacent to each other, as well as to the *Circar* juſt deſcribed, in a N. eaſterly direction, occupy the whole ſpace lying between the *Kiſtna* and the diſtricts of *Maſſulipatam* towards the ſea, and the inland province of *Commamet* on the *Weſt*; and the *Iheel*, or lake of *Colare*, chiefly formed by the overflowings of thoſe two rivers, with a parallel ſtream running through its centre to the ſea coaſt at *Gollapollam*, would nearly divide the *Circars*

under conſideration into two equal parts or ſquares of about 53 miles on every ſide, allowing for ſome inequalities, which, however, ought not to eſcape notice. *Condapillee*, along the north bank of the *Kiſtna*, ſtretches ſome of its ſtraggling *Purgunnahs* to the weſt through *Commamet*, as far as *Mongal*, 120 miles from *Maſſulipatam*, and rather more than half way to *Hydrabad*; comprehending an area in the whole of about 3400 ſquare miles. On the other hand, the river *Goadaveri*, which deſcribes the limits of *Ellore* northerly, curves ſo much in its greater branch to the ſouth on approaching the ſea, as to diminiſh conſiderably the eaſt ſide of the ſquare of this province; and though the diſtrict of *Polaveram*, dependent on *Rajemundry* among the hills, on the ſouthern bank of the ſame river, be a farther encroachment on the regular bounds of *Ellore*, yet ſtill its ſuperficial contents cannot juſtly be eſtimated at leſs than 2700 ſquare miles.

4. *Rajemundry*, towards the ſouth, is, with the exception above mentioned, ſeparated from *Ellore* in its greateſt breadth by

the *Goadaveri*. This river, after receiving many leſſer ones, from its ſource among the *Balagaut* mountains near *Bombay*, on the *Malabar* coaſt, and running a courſe eaſt-ſoutherly from thence about 700 miles, divides itſelf into two great branches 35 miles from the ſea, within which is formed the iſland of *Nagur*; a triangular ſpace comprehending only 500 ſquare miles, but of greater value in proportion to its extent than perhaps any other ſpot in the *Eaſt*, without excepting the famed *Delta* of *Ægypt*. From the diſtrict of *Polaveram*, on the weſt, the great ridge of hills towards *Berar* limits this province; and the ſmall river of *Settiaveram* running from thence to the ſea, deſcribes its *northern* boundary with *Cicacole*, including in all an area of 1700 miles of acceſſible country.

5. The diſtricts of *Maſſulipatam* form the leaſt of the grand diviſions of the *Circars*, and, as hath been obſerved, are only portions of the maritime border diſmembered, for certain uſes, from the four provinces already deſcribed. *Nizampatam*, formerly a ſeparate juriſdiction on the ſouth

of the *Kiſtna*, extending along a coaſt of 60 miles, from *Point Divi*, near the great mouth of that river, to *Moctapillee* ſouth, and about 5 in breadth on a medium to the territory of *Guntoor*, conſtitutes the *ſouthern* portion of this diviſion; and from the ſame head-land, including the iſland of *Divi*, to *Narſapore* on the ſouthern arm of the *Goadaveri*, and from thence to *Ingeram* on its northern branch, juſt beyond the point formed by and deriving its name from this river, lye ſeveral *Pergunnahs* detached from *Condapillee*, and ſome leſſer ſea-ports ſcattered on the ſhores of *Ellore* and *Rajemundry*, together compoſing the *northern* ſubdiviſion, and extending along a coaſt of 105 miles, within 45 of *Pentacotah*, at the mouth of the *Settiaveram*, and boundary of *Cicacole*. Both theſe portions united may contain 700 ſquare miles of land, immediately dependant on *Maſſulipatam*, which is not only the capital of theſe diſtricts, but alſo the ſeat of a ſubordinate Government ruling the different provinces deſcribed, except *Guntour*, and is the principal fort or bulwark of all the northern *Circars*.

6. *Cicacole*, anciently *Kulling*, the moſt northerly and laſt in order of the grand diviſions, is alſo ſubdivided into two diſtricts; of which, one, deriving its name from that province, is dependant on *Vizagapatam*; the other, called *Ichapoor*, is placed under the chief and council of *Ganjam*. The former lies between the rivers of *Settiaveram* on the ſouth, and of *Poondy* north; from the croſs hills approaching the ſea near thoſe extremities, it forms a kind of amphitheatre, or ſemi-circular territory; of which the diameter along the coaſt extends 180 miles, and its greateſt dimenſions inland, to the high mountainous region on the weſt, about one third of the ſame diſtance, comprizing an area not leſs than 4400 ſquare miles. The latter ſubdiviſion of this province, is of a triangular figure, ſtretching its longeſt ſide along the ſhore about 80 miles from *Poondy* to *Maloud*, the ſouthern frontier of *Cuttack*, and its ſhorteſt to the angle at *Goomſur*, 50 miles in a weſt northerly direction towards *Berar*, containing near 1600 miles of ſuperficial meaſure; excluſive of that portion of country, which, in this diſtrict,

as well as in all the others ſouthward to the *Goadaveri*, we have aſſigned to the high inacceſſible region, extending to the great ridge of boundary mountains on the weſt, in variable breadths.

The *Climate* of the *Northern Circars*, with a general conformity to what is obſervable in other parts of *Hindoſtan*, *North* of the *Kiſtna*, has yet, from latitudinal extent of country, maritime ſituation, and poſition of the inland hills, ſome peculiarities in each of the *three ſeaſons* of the year, worthy of remark. The *periodical rain* called by the natives *Burſant*, uſually ſets in about the middle of June, with a weſterly wind, in moderate ſhowers until the latter end of Auguſt, which month concludes the *Poonaſs-fuſſul*, or ſmall-grain harveſt; and continues from this period in greater abundance to the beginning of November, when it generally breaks up with violence, and uſhers in the *Zimmeſtan*, or winter, with a ſtrong north-eaſterly wind, greatly tempered, however, in its coldneſs, by the mild influence of the ſea over which it blows. The *middle* of this latter and de-

lightful ſeaſon, early in January, finiſhes the *Fuſſul-khereef* for rice and *Bajary*, which are the great productions of the country *North* of the *Goadaveri*, and, in like manner, its *cloſe*, at the vernal equinox, terminates the third *Fuſſul* or *Rubbi-harveſt*, the grand one for *Joary** or *Janaloo*, as well as for all the different ſpecies of grain or pulſe, *South* of that river. Then commenceth the *Tabeſtan*, or hot ſeaſon, which is always extremely moderate towards the *Northern* extremity of the *Circars*, near *Ganjam*, by reaſon of conſtant ſemidiurnal breezes from the ſea, and the poſition of the neighbouring hills from ſouth to weſt, contrary to the ordinary direction of the wind: about *Maſſulipatam* on the *ſouth*, for the firſt two months, ſtrong ſoutherly gales along the ſhore, together with the ſea breezes, moderate the heat; but the baleful influence of the former, in blowing over ſalt

* *Joary* and *Pelujary*, the former white, the other yellow and coarſer, are a ſpecies of Maize with a large buſhy top; in contradiſtinction to the *Mecca Joary* or Indian corn, which hath its grain growing in a conic form; as hath in like manner the *Bajary*, or Millet, on a longer and ſlenderer *Bubta* or ear.

ſtagnant marſhes on the coaſt, is injurious to animal life, and abſolutely deſtructive to vegetation; during the ſucceeding month, and until the rains, the wind coming from the weſt, over a parched looſe ſoil of great extent, uninterrupted by any continued chain of hills, and paſſing along the broad, and, at this time of the year almoſt dry, ſandy bed of the *Kiſtna*, becomes ſo intolerably hot near the mouths of that river, as to raiſe the Thermometer, ſometimes for a week together, to 110 degrees within the houſe, and ſeldom under 105 during the firſt part of the day. Another peculiarity of climate too often and fatally experienced in this country, is the noxious ſtate of the air in all the hilly regions, throughout the different ſeaſons of vegetation, which occaſions the diſtemper called the *Hill-fever*. This generally mortal diſorder has been ſometimes aſcribed to the *water*, impregnated, perhaps, with the poiſonous quality of copper ore in paſſing over the mountains, or from ſprings iſſuing through unwholeſome mineral earths; and ſometimes with equal probability it has been attributed to the corrupted juice of vegetables waſhed

down by torrents into the public reſervoirs; but the greateſt operative cauſe is doubtleſs the groſſneſs of the atmoſphere, charged and contaminated with the exhalations of a luxuriant ſoil, pent up in vallies; as ſeems to be clearly evinced by the prevalence of the ſame diſtemper even in the plains, where the richer crops of *Janaloo* are cultivated, and a free circulation of the air impeded by the luxuriancy of the proper growth of this plant, or by ſurrounding trees and villages.

The ſoil in all thoſe provinces, along the coaſt, is chiefly ſandy, improving gradually towards the hills. The ſame ground therefore ſeldom if ever yields more than a ſingle crop of grain annually; but there being every where an abundant ſupply of water, the one produced is generally extremely rich. For beſides the boundary rivers already mentioned, which fertilize the country on either ſide, there are many leſſer ones within each of the *Circars* running into the ſea, or divided artificially into canals, and afterwards conducted into the tanks and greater reſervoirs; ſuch are the ſtreams paſſ-

ing through *Guntour*, and which, for the moſt part, collected near *Bopetla*, together with the overflowings of the *Kiſtna*, water the ſands of *Nizampatam*; ſuch alſo are the rivulets drawn from this great river and the *Goadaveri*, which uniting in the *Colare*, between the provinces of *Condapillee* and *Ellore*, are from thence diverted into numberleſs channels to water the circumjacent territory. In *Rajemundry* the *Yeleru*, or *Yalore*, running parallel to, and not far ſouth of, the *Settiaveram*, is, with uncommon intelligence and induſtry, ſubdivided, to anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation within the two principal *Zemindarries* of *Pedapore* and *Pettapore*, on its oppoſite banks; while the iſland of *Nagur*, or *Nagarum*, encloſed chiefly by the two greater branches of the *Goadaveri*, and interſected by five other leſſer ones, is made wonderfully productive, not only by a conſtant and plentiful ſupply of the great element of vegetation, but from the acquiſition of an extraordinary rich ſoil, in being thus, from ſituation, the grand receptacle of all the ſlimy mould carried down by the greateſt river in the *Decan*. The ſouthern ſub-

diviſion of *Cicacole*, with a better ſoil than is found in other parts of the *Circars*, is ſufficiently watered by four interior rivers, which have their outlets at the reſpective ports of *Vizagapatam*, *Bimlipatam*, *Maphusbunder*, or *Cicacole*, and *Calingapatam*, beſides many leſſer ſtreams in the ſeaſon of the rains, in advancing to the northwards; and in the territory of *Jehapoor*, the river of *Ganjam* uniting different branches from the vallies of *Vizianagur*, *Burragur*, and *Goomſur*, in the very centre of the whole diſtrict, in its greateſt breadth at *Aſka*, makes this portion of the province equally fruitful with the other, comparatively to its extent.

From the many advantages which we have already enumerated as common to the *Circars*, it may be expected that their *natural produce* will appear proportionate; nevertheleſs, the moſt uſeful claſſes of *animals* are found in greater abundance than variety, being almoſt wholly reducible to ſheep, and the larger ſpecies of horned cattle; but the neighbouring ſea and its numberleſs inlets abound with every kind

of *Indian* fiſh, a few excepted, together with ſome that are common to *Europe*, ſuch as mullet, ſoal, and pomflet; the latter reſembling moſt the turbot, if it be not exactly the ſame in miniature, is more peculiarly attached to this coaſt, and is turned to no inconſiderable benefit, when ſalted, for the inland markets. It is, however, in the grand and moſt neceſſary articles of *vegetable* production that this territory is particularly famous. In grain, the different ſorts of which we have already had occaſion to mention, it is properly the granary of the *Carnatic*, during the north-eaſt monſoon, in like manner as *Tanjore* is reckoned on, for the other ſeaſon of the periodical winds from the oppoſite point of the compaſs. Fruits, roots, and greens are ſcarce, and reared with difficulty to the ſouth of the *Goadaveri*; and even to the north of that river, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the ſea air, are neither ſo excellent in kind, nor are they to be met with in ſuch plenty as in other parts of the *Decan*. It may farther be obſerved, that ſome of the articles of *ſecond neceſſity*, ſuch as ſugar and cotton, are alſo

too ſcantily produced in *Rajemundry* and *Jehapoor*, for the general conſumption of all the provinces; while, on the other hand, bay ſalt and tobacco, the latter from the vicinity of *Maſſulipatam*, known every where for ſuperior excellence, have exceeded of late years in quantity the home and foreign demand for both. But in the juſt eſtimation of a commercial people, all the partial diſadvantages we have named, would be more than counterbalanced by a ſingle *uncultivated production* of the greateſt utility, if proper uſe was made of the foreſts of *Rajemundry*; which, from the commencement of the hills along the banks of the *Goadaveri* to *Palouncha* on the frontiers of *Commamet*, yield a ſuperabundance of the beſt and largeſt *Teak* timbers, ſo generally thought ſuperior in quality even to oak, for the ſhip-building and navigation of the *Indian* ſeas. At preſent the *Coco* and *Palmyra*, or in the more northerly province the *Toomecara**, form the principal materials for conſtructing, in the diffe-

* This ſeems to be a ſpecies of the tree which produces the gum-arabic.

rent ports of the *Circars*, five hundred of thoſe unweildy veſſels called *Doonies* *, of various burthens, from 60 to 100 tons each. The diamond mines of *Guntour* and *Condapillee*, reſerved by treaty to the *Nizam*, deſerve barely to be mentioned as a rarity, not to be conſidered as of any great political conſequence.

In regard to *Manufactures*, the ſtaple produce of the country worked from cotton is of two different ſorts and fineneſs: plain *long cloth*, ſo valuable at foreign markets, is chiefly wrought in the iſland of *Nagur* and its vicinity, where the manufacturers have always found a ſure aſylum from the ravages of war; it forms the ground work of the beſt printed callicoes in *Europe*, and of thoſe inimitably painted ones called *Palampores*, in the diſtricts of *Maſſulipatam*. The coarſer plain cloths made to the north and ſouth of the *Goadaveri*, or coloured with the *Chay*-root, which

* Coaſting veſſels of one and two maſts, managed by native laſcars or ſeamen, having a convex upper deck, with the view of reſiſting more effectually any incumbent waves.

is the madder of the *Eaſt*, and growing in moſt perfection in the pure ſands annually overflowed by the *Kiſtna*, are equally articles in vaſt demand abroad, or for interior conſumption. But the muſlins of *Cicacole*, the beautiful woollen carpets of *Ellore*, and ſilks of *Burrampore* in *Ichapoor*, wrought from the raw materials imported from *Bengal* or *China*, are rather objects of curioſity and meriting encouragement, than conſiderable in quantity or benefit. Of this nature alſo is the *art* of painting or inlaying ivory and black wood in the cabinet work made at *Vizagapatam*. But the facility, convenience, and cheapneſs with which ſhips of war, or of burthen not exceeding five hundred tons, have been, and might in greater number be, conſtructed in the ports of *Coringa* and *Narſapore*, at the two principal mouths of the *Goadaveri*, are conſiderations of the utmoſt importance to a maritime ſtate; nor ſhould the extenſive branch of ſhip-building at preſent in uſe, though with ſo much imperfection and improvidence, in ſupplying 50,000 tons in ſmaller craft for the coaſting trade, be forgotten, in ſtating the more uſeful

arts, which at once form the proprietary and local intereſts of the country.

Theſe ſeveral objects of natural or artificial produce, when united, form the grand reſources of *commerce*, which in the *Circars* may be claſſed under three different heads; the trade to *Europe*, to neighbouring *Indian* ports, and the inland provinces of the *Decan*.

The firſt confined entirely to the finer cotton manufactures exported by *European* nations which have eſtabliſhments on this coaſt, or purchaſed by other foreign adventurers, may amount in the whole, at prime coſt, to *thirty* lacks of rupees, of which one half ſeldom finds its way to *England*, though a much greater quantity would be productive of a certain benefit of upwards of 100 *per cent.*

The ſecond, or coaſting trade, carried on almoſt entirely with *Madras*, ſince the late prohibition againſt importing bay ſalt into *Bengal*, conſiſts either of *grain*, amounting annually to half a million of

bags, and valued on a medium at *twenty-five* lacks of rupees, including freight and other charges which return to the country; or, for the moſt part, in the coarſer *cloths* proper for the Eaſtern market, and which may be eſtimated at *ten* lacks more.

The third branch, or interior commerce, in *ſalt* and *piece goods* of native production, or *copper* and *raw ſilk*, the latter chiefly from *Bengal*, leaves a balance of *ten lacks*, after deducting *half* that amount for returns of *cotton* and *wheat* received in barter from the *Lomballies* or inland carriers, and conſumed within the *Circars*. And theſe are the various commercial benefits, computed in the groſs at ſeventy-five lacks of rupees, which, in a flouriſhing period of ſeventeen years back, and moſt ſo under the late diſtractions in the *Carnatic*, have annually increaſed the hidden treaſure or languid circulation of the parſimonious *Indians*; excepting an overplus never exceeding fifteen lacks, ſaved from a very diſproportionate revenue, to liquidate the yearly gratuity paid to the

*Nizam* by treaty, or is remitted in ſpecie to the Preſidency of *Fort St. George*.

The native *inhabitants* of all theſe provinces, excluſive of a few thouſand *Mahometans* diſperſed in the principal towns, or among the more regular infantry and militia, are wholly *Hindoos*, and may, with great moderation, be numbered at *two millions and a half* under all denominations. They are compoſed, or rather they are parts, of the two nations of *Telinga* and *Oria*, *Woria*, or *Oriſſa*, formerly divided from each other by the *Goadaveri*, but ſince their union under the ſame government, a good deal mixed among themſelves, as well as with ſome of the neighbouring tribes. Still, however, under a general religious conformity to the doctrines of the *Bedes*, as received in the *Decan*, they ſpeak and write different dialects, apparently of the *Shanſcrit* language, and have rites, cuſtoms, and characteriſtical traits, perfectly diſtinguiſhable from each other. The *four* great *caſts*, or diviſions of the people, as founded on ſpiritual authority, are therefore common to both countries, but with leſs devia-

tion from the original inſtitutions in *Oriſa*, where *Braminical* abſtinence from animal food, excepting fiſh, contrary to the practice of all the other *Decanees*, is pretty generally obſerved by the higher tribes of every claſs. Farther as theſe diſtinctions had equally a reference to the temporal, as well as religious, ſtate, ſo even where the ancient rule, prohibitory of intermarriage, has been once, or oftener infringed; yet the different *caſts* have been, in a manner, wholly preſerved, and are ſometimes moſt tenaciouſly adhered to in *civil* occurrences, among the *Sunker*, mixed, or baſtard deſcendants of the primitive inhabitants. Thus, the *Bramins* continue to enjoy their pre-eminence and conſideration among the other tribes, though always in proportion to the purity of their lives or outward ſanctity; in like manner the *Rachewars*, *Rowwars*, and *Velmas* *, of

* *Rachewars*, *Rowwars* *Telinga* corruptions of *Rajah*, or of its diminutive *Rai*, joined with the perſonal or local appellative *war*, to expreſs the people, or deſcendants of Chiefs of foreign extract, or of modern upſtart race. The *Velmawars* among the *Telingians*, are equivalent to the *Nairs* of *Malabar*, or *Naigs* of

which denominations the principal *Zemindars* in the *Circars* are actually composed, affect the warlike character and manners of *Rajepoots*, to entitle themselves to be ranked with the more genuine offspring of the *Cheteree*, or second class. But the *Commewar*, *Conbies*, or husbandmen; *Golewar*, *Ahere*, or cowherds; *Saliwar*, *Julhai*, or weavers, together with the *Twelve Bulootedars*, or artificers, maintained by the greater villages, and taxed by Government, though all incorporated in the *Sooder*, last, or *fourth* great *cast*, have yet sometimes claimed the degree immediately above them; and, from their utility, have as often been allowed, by a foreign magistrate, to rank with the *Comti*, *Banias*, or retail merchants, which are properly of the *third*, or class assimilated with that of *Bice* *.

*Canara*, and are the native gentry or military of the country, claiming descent from, or adopted into the families sprung from the ancient princes of *Worangol*.

* N. B. What farther regards the character, manners, customs, and religion of these *Decannee Hindoos*, is the subject of a more ample description in another part of a political survey, which treats generally of all

The note here inſerted, in the MS., proves the extent of Mr. *Grant*'s intereſting reſearches into the hiſtory and polity of *India*; the political and hiſtorical view of the *Northern Circars*, which I have inſerted to ſhew how great and important part of *Britiſh India* is, included in Mr. *Ruſſell*'s queſtion, is only an *extract* from the *Introduction* to Mr. *Grant*'s Political Survey of the *Northern Circars*, laid on the tables of the Houſe of Commons, as before mentioned. By connecting this extract with the chapter on the fraudulent Alienations of Revenues in the *Northern Circars* *, a correct examination of the political and financial importance of the *Circars* may be compared with Mr. *Ruſſell*'s calculation and ſtatement of fact.

the *Six Indian* nations inhabiting the Peninſula, giving their names to, or denominated from, the grand diviſions of country, *Malabar*, *Canara*, *Merhat*, *Telinga*, *Oria*, *Goondivannah*, into which the *Decan* is naturally and properly diſtributed.

* Vide Chap. VIII. p. 193, and Chap. XII. p. 240.

*Revolutions and Hiſtorical Events.*

*Bamineah Rule.*

It was not until the year 1471 of the *Chriſtian* æra, or 876 of the *Hejerah*, that the *Mahommedans* of the *Decan* extended their arms to the *Northern Circars*. At this time *Oria*, the *Rajah* of the country of the ſame name, ſeparated from the reſt of *Oriſſa*, on the north, by the *Chilca* lake, having died without iſſue, a diſpute aroſe for the ſucceſſion between *Mungal Rai*, the adopted ſon, and *Humner*, the couſin of the deceaſed. The latter had recourſe for aſſiſtance to *Mahommed Shah Luſkkery*, who then ruled over the *Bamineah* Empire in *Beder*, and had long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity of extending his conqueſts on that ſide of his dominions; in conſequence of which, the claimant was not only put in poſſeſſion of the family eſtates, but, through the aid of his great ally, acquired the new conqueſts of *Condapillee*, including all the intervening diſtricts to *Rajemundry*, on condition of becoming tributary for the whole to the *Muſſulman* Empire, 1480.

But the ambitious projects of *Mahommed Shah* were not accompliſhed until nine years afterwards, by ſubjugating more completely to his authority the *diſtricts* of *Maſſulipatam*, with the important province of *Guntour*. Theſe formed part of a principality lately eſtabliſhed by *Narſingh*, who was probably deſcended from the conquered *Telinga Rajahs* of *Worangol*, and being driven from the family inheritance, took advantage of the diſtractions which prevailed in the *Carnatic*, to make himſelf maſter of the ſea coaſt of *Coromandel* from the *Kiſtna*, ſouth to *Kanji*, or *Conjeveram*, fixing his chief reſidence at *Chundergury*. As the entire conqueſt of this new ſtate, afterwards called *Narſingha*, and ſo often confounded by *European* travellers or hiſtorians with *Bejenagur*, the Capital of the *Great Indian* Empire of *Canara*, from which it had been diſmembered, entered largely into the political views of the Court of *Beder*; ſo the poſſeſſion of *Guntour* in particular, as lying on the ſouth ſide of the *Kiſtna*, and in other reſpects, from ſituation, juſtly conſidered the maſter-key of the *Carnatic*

towards the north, appeared of the greateſt relative importance.

*Kootub-Shahy Rule.*

In the year 1512 the *Kootub-Shahy*, a ſecond dynaſty of *Decanny Muſſulman Kings*, diſmembered, as *Turrefdars*, or Governors, by right of power, the eaſtern diviſion of the *Bamineah* Empire, called *Telinga*, but in after ages more generally denominated from its capital and principal fortreſs, indiſcriminately, the ſtate of *Hydrabad*, or of *Golconda*; and in proportion to the limited ſway of this new ſovereingty, ſo the complete reduction of all the tributary dependencies, eſpecially thoſe on the ſea coaſt, which are now the ſubject of conſideration, became a great object of policy with the ruling adminiſtration. The countries ſouth of the *Goadaveri* to the river *Gondegama* were entirely ſubdued; reduced nearly into their preſent form of provinces as deſcribed, and were in general modelled, almoſt on the ſame principles of interior government, as pre-

vailed at the period of the laſt revolution, when they were annexed to the *Britiſh* dominions in *India*. But at that time, *Wiſtna-deo*, or *Gajeputty*, a powerful prince of *Oriſſa*, having united under his ſceptre all the ancient family domains, from the confines of *Bengal* to thoſe of *Telinga* on the ſouth, no impreſſion could be made on *Rajemundry*, or the more northerly province, formerly tributary to the *Mahommedans*, while poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of *Oria*, until the year 1571, under the reign of *Ibrahim Kootub Shah*. Then, a new participation of this *Indian* principality leſſened the power of defence, and facilitated the reduction of the *Rheddy*, or proprietary Chief of the race of *Gajeputty*, to whoſe lot the ſouthern diviſion, along the banks of the *Goadaveri*, deſcended as an inheritance. The treaſon of *Vacheroy Muſſalee*, anceſtor to the *Zemindar* of *Peddapore*, and renter or manager for the *Rheddywars*, furthered the ambitious projects of the *Sultaun*, while it procured for himſelf the farm of *Kimmoor*, &c. which ſerved as a foundation to more extenſive acquiſitions. But the conqueſt of *Rajemun-*

*dry* was ſtill far from being complete. The iſland of *Nagur* was wholly inacceſſible to *Maſſulman* troops: nor could the interior of the province be ſufficiently protected from the ravages of the ejected proprietors, who were driven to their unwholeſome faſtneſſes among the hills, but by a ſtanding militia and feudatory force, which, beſides the ordinary eſtimated revenue of the *Circar*, ſubſiſted on lands exempted from taxation, or under exactions from inferior ſubjects of the ſtate, or plunder taken from neighbouring independant inhabitants, who were poſſeſſed of greater wealth than courage to defend it. In like manner *Cicacole* was but imperfectly reduced; and reckoning its firſt revenue according to the public records, it was rated at an aſſeſſment greatly ſhort of the actual collections made from the people, and of the neceſſary military diſburſements of a frontier province *.

* About the year 1592, *Rajah Manſing*, the Emperor *Akbar*'s Delegate in *Bengal*, having partially ſubdued the Northern Provinces of *Oriſſa*, included in the liſts of his conqueſts the ſoutherly dependencies of *Kulling*, or *Cicacole*, and *Rajemundry*; valuing the former, of 27 *Mhals*, at 239,000 rupees, and the latter, of 16

*Timooreah Rule.*

A. D. 1687. Such, however, was the ſtate in which all the *Northern Circars*, together with the other dominions of *Abu'l Huſſeen*, the laſt of the race of the *Hootub Shahy*, fell in the year 1687 to the victorious arms of *Alem Geer*, the Great *Mogul* Emperor of *Hindoſtan*. But during the twenty remaining years of his reign, this monarch was too buſily employed in conquering the larger provinces of the *Decan*, and curbing the upſtart *Mahrattah* power, to inſpect, or render, either of the two maritime dependencies of *Hydrabad*, henceforth termed a *Soubah*, lying north of the *Goadaveri*, as productive as they ought to have been to the treaſury; and in the pe-

*Mhals*, at 125,000 rupees. But, in truth, the *Mogul* arms did not penetrate beyond the *Chilca* lake; and the aſſeſſment of thoſe two diſtricts annexed to, or making part of, the original *Toomar Jumma* of *Tooril Mull*, as exhibited in the the *Ayeen Akbary*, ſerves only to evince the imperfection of that famous rent-role, with reſpect to the *Soubah* of *Bengal*.

riod which immediately followed his death, ſucceſſive wars or contenſions for empire, having introduced anarchy and uſurpation in ſome places, precluded every where the poſſibility of reform, or, in general, occaſioned a total ſuſpenſion of all regular government throughout the whole extent of *Hindoſtan*.

### *Aſipheah Rule.*

A. D. 1724. At length the memorable battle of *Shucker Kerah*, in 1724, gave a tranſient repoſe to the *Decan*, while it transferred, in fact, though not in form, the ſovereignty of this great limb of the *Mogul* Empire, from the houſe of *Timur* to that of *Aſipheah*, in the perſon of the firſt and famous *Nizam Ul Moolk*, ſelf-conſtituted, as well as by *Sunnuds* from *Mahommed Shah*, the reigning Emperor, *Viceroy* of all the *Six Soubahdarries*, ſouth of the *Nerbudda*, one of the great ancient and modern boundaries of proper *Hindoſtan*. The wiſdom and vigour of this new ruler were immediately felt in the *Circar* of *Ci-*

*cacola*, by the appointment of *Anwur Ul Dien Khan Gopamowee*, to the poſt of *Aumildar*, or Controller of that province; but we are not to eſtimate the public benefits derived from an able adminiſtration of *fifteen* years ſucceſſively, by the criterion of a rent roll, under the beſt conſtituted *Muſſulman* Government. The pride, the advantage of a great military eſtabliſhment, though often nominal, muſt be taken into conſideration; and if the *policy* and *paſſion* of princes did not ſo powerfully incline them to the *ſyſtem* of purchaſing perſonal attachments by conferring individual favours; yet it is ſo much the intereſt of Miniſters and the other great courtiers, thus to promote the wealth and influence of provincial delegates, perhaps originally recommended by themſelves, that full credit ought always to be given in *public* management, for various acquiſition of *private* fortune, authoriſed by unqualified deſpotiſm, written poſitive laws, or a conſcientious implication of their reaſon and true ſpirit. Nor will ſuch liberality appear ſo great when it is conſidered, that *death* legally gave to the prince, entire and uncondition-

ally, whatever portion of the riches of his ſubjects, the forbearance of his arbitrary will left to his delegates for *life*, only, perhaps, in the hopes of future reverſion. To judge, therefore, impartially of *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*'s progreſs in reducing to proper obedience, or in aſcertaining and realizing the full revenue of *thoſe diſtricts* ſo long placed under his management, we muſt take into the account, his ample private emoluments, of which a ſkilful application probably paved the way to farther preferment, until finally rewarded by the *Foujedarry* of the *Carnatic*. That the remains of his fortune eſcaped the graſping hand of his immediate ſuperior, the *Soubahdar* of *Hydrabad*, at the period of his death, muſt be attributed to the inability of even the great *Viceroy* himſelf, their common ruler, to aſſert the more undoubted rights of ſovereignty in any part of the *Decan*, under the terror of the then prevailing power of the *Mahrattahs*; and it may not be unworthy of remark, that even nineteen years afterwards it required the irreſiſtable influence of the *Britiſh* Government to obtain for *Mahommed Ali*, the

the ſucceſſor of *Anwur Ul Dien*, a full diſcharge of the arrears, or pretended defalcations in the revenue of *Cicacole*. But if ſuch were the advantages reſulting from the ability and good fortune of the *Aumildar*, deputed by the great *Aſiph Jah* to *one* of the maritime *Circars*, greater ſtill were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of his contemporary, *Ruſtum Khan*, who, from 1732, for ſeven ſucceſſive years, ruled, with the moſt ample delegated ſway, *Rajemundry*, with the other *four* more ſoutherly provinces. There, the *Zemindars*, or *Indian* farmers-general, had availed themſelves of the ſurrounding diſtractions, on the death of *Alem Geer*, to uſurp the rights and feeble authority of their corrupt *Muſſulman* ſuperintendants. To correct theſe dangerous abuſes, and reſtore the ancient, legal, or neceſſary forms of interior adminiſtration were the arduous taſks aſſigned to this new *Zelahdar*, or Provincial Governor, next in ſubordinate degree to, though, on the preſent occaſion, veſted in, the plenary powers of a *Foujedar*; and the conduct of the man ſo fully juſtifies the *Nizam*'s choice, that even to this day

it is held up, and conſidered by the inhabitants in general, as an example worthy of imitation, for neceſſary policy, conſiderate humanity, rigid and univerſal juſtice. At the ſame time that the *Zemindars* had defrauded the Public Treaſury, they ſqueezed with the iron hand of oppreſſion the induſtrious huſbandmen and manufacturers. The firſt object, therefore, of *Ruſtum Khan*'s Government was the total extirpation of ſuch mercileſs tyrants. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, were proclaimed as traitors; and a reward being offered for their own with adherent heads, a ſufficient number was ſoon collected to erect *two* of thoſe ſhocking pyramidal monuments, called *Kulla Minar*, near each of the provincial capitals; for one of which kind, though on a larger ſcale, the cruelty of *Nadir Shah* is held in *Europe* ſo juſtly in abhorrence. The remains of one of thoſe ſingular proofs of eaſtern depravity, the cauſe or effect of the moſt violent deſpotiſm, are ſtill be ſeen in the neighbourhood of *Maſſulipatam*; and might be ſuppoſed to ſerve as a leſſon of uſeful inſtruction to the natives, to contraſt and revere

the lenity of their actual Government. But the Legiſlature will aſſuredly be diſappointed, who expects to find in *Hindoſtan* the operation of free, enlarged reaſon and reflection; and the characteriſtical traits of the people, as ſketched by the great *Tamerlane* in his celebrated inſtitutions, would not have been ſo long and univerſally admitted by his imperial ſucceſſors as making the true unchangeable features of their ſubjects, as well as indicating the infallible ſtandard of practical rule in politics, if they had not been drawn with exact ſimilitude by a ſuperior diſcerning genius, and the hand of a maſter. Accordingly, the ſevere adminiſtration of *Ruſtum Khan*, which he now farther diſtinguiſhed by ſubſtituting *Aumeens*, ſupervifors, or temporary collectors, in the room of the annihilated refractory *Zemindars*, is become as proverbial, for exemplary excellence in the *Circars*; as that of *Jaffier Khan*, who deviſed the famous loathſome torture of the *Bykunta*, or Paradiſe, to extort from ſimilar delinquents in *Bengal*, the ſettled revenue of the *Soubah* collected from the *Reyuts*. Still, however,

the *Jumma Kaumil*, or original aſſeſſment continued at an under rate on the *Chalſah* records; and the benefits derived by the ſtate from ſuperior management, were always temporary, depending on the perſonal ability of the individual employed, and for the moſt part flowing in through the private channels of corruption. *Muſſulman* depravity, indolence, and ignorance, ſoon made it neceſſary to recur to the ancient ſyſtem of finance, through the agency of *Hindoo* farmers-general; who to remedy the evils of a fluctuating government, were made to have a permanent intereſt in the ſoil and general proſperity of the country, by certain *local privileges*, which were ſo invariably continued in the ſame family by ſucceſſive *Aumildars*, that they were often miſtaken by the poſſeſſors for hereditary rights, liable always to be enlarged in anarchy, or under the authority of natural law, when civil reſtraints loſt all controling influence; and thus the creation of new *Zemindars* was in a few years productive of freſh diſorders under ſimilar circumſtances throughout the whole extent of the *Northern Circars*.

*French Rule.*

When theſe provinces were annexed to the *French* dominions in *India*, in 1753, under the *Nizamut* of *Salabut Jung*, who owed his elevation and ſupport chiefly to the great addreſs and military conduct of the famous *Buſſy*, that able politician and commander, appointed to rule the ceded territories, found himſelf under the neceſſity, but always with true meaſured civilized humanity, of going over the ſame ground with the beſt of his *Muſſulman* predeceſſors, in re-eſtabliſhing order and the indiſpenſable indubitable rights of Eaſtern ſovereignty. *Zemindars* were, as uſual, diſmiſſed from their employments, but generally permitted to enjoy, under *French Sunnuds*, their *Ruſſooms* and *Saverums*, or *conditional hereditary privileges*, amounting to from *eight* to *twelve per cent.* on the net revenue collected; and, excepting in the *Circar* of *Cicacole*, there are more inſtances of new creations, than total extirpation of thoſe neceſſary officers of Government.

Here indeed the reform was not complete. A number of petty *Indian* ſuperintendants divided the whole province betwixt them; and family feuds, internal uſurpations, together with multiplied abuſes, for ever diſturbed the public tranquillity, while they leſſened the *receipts* greatly below the *dues* of the exchequer. The union or annexation of theſe ſeveral poſſeſſions under one head, appeared the moſt eligible ſyſtem of adminiſtration; and *Vizeram Rauſe*, the predeceſſor, not anceſtor, of the preſent *Zemindar* of the ſame name, who then only held the *four Pergunnahs*, or leſſer diſtricts, about *Vizianagrum*, rendered himſelf the moſt uſeful and acceptable man to act in the capacity of chief.

It is not our province to trace the progreſſive execution of the plan projected; and we could wiſh to forget ſuch bloody ſcenes as occurred in the acquiſition of *Bobilee*: ſuffice it to obſerve, that ſucceſs crowned the enterprize, and raiſed the favoured *Vizeram* to that unrivalled power and conſideration, which the adopted repreſentative of his family is ſtill permitted to

enjoy, among a multitude of the official landholders diſperſed throughout the *Circars*, ſome of higher pretenſions from birth, but all of inferior territorial conſequence. At length, in 1757, a complete ſurvey and *Huſtabood*, or detailed accounts of the groſs collections of the whole country, infinitely more accurate and uſeful than the famous Doomſday book of *England*, were formed; Mr. *Buſſey* acquired knowledge of reſources entirely beyond his *Muſſulman* predeceſſors, and greatly exceeding perhaps, the general belief of more modern financiers. But moderation was neceſſary under a recent foreign adminiſtration. The regular troops to be ſupported by the revenue were to be employed on diſtant ſervice; and the great Director-general himſelf, whoſe preſence might frequently be requiſite to enforce his decrees, was almoſt conſtantly obliged to reſide at the *Nizam*'s Court, to keep in order and ſet in motion that wonderful political machinery, which was at once the baſis of his own grandeur, and made his nation the arbiters of the *Decan*. The *Jummabundy* or annual ſettlement, therefore, was only *doubled* in *Cicacole* and *Raje-*

*mundry*; and brought ſomewhat nearer the *Kham-Waſool*, or groſs receipts, in the other provinces. Beſides which, as a temporary expedient, the *Zemindars* were bound to maintain the public peace; defray all charges of collection; and keep on foot a *Sebundy corps* or militia of *twelve thouſand* infantry, which over and above the ordinary ſervice of preſerving or enforcing the equal diviſion of the *three* yearly crops between government and its tenants, were liable to be called on, for a very ſmall daily allowance, to repel any invading foe. All this, however, we believe to have been only the firſt ſtep towards eſtabliſhing a more adequate *Jumma Kaumil*, or ſtandard revenue, which a proſpect of future ſtability was to make progreſſive, until it attained an equitable medium of rent or taxation, that leaves abundance to the huſbandmen, with a ſufficient ſpur to induſtry; that ſupplies the exigencies of the ſtate in the neceſſary means for a general ſyſtem of defence, or diffuſes with returning increaſe, through the channels of commerce or other public diſburſements, the enlivening benefits of provincial circulation; and after all, affords

to indiſpenſable intermediate agents neither princely fortunes to feed idleneſs, or pamper uſeleſs luxury, nor hoards of wealth to be ſecreted in the earth for the purpoſes of ſuperſtition or chicanery, and thus to ſet at nought the deadly labour of man for its acquiſition; nor enormous defalcations from the indiſputable rights of royalty, to purchaſe remiſſions, privileges, and influence, by corruption; nor to maintain a very formidable military retinue, whoſe only virtue is perſonal attachment to the maſter who pays them, chiefly on *alienated* lands on the footing of thoſe territorial benefices, which, with equal impropriety or ignorance, are ſometimes ſuffered to be given away to gain the partial favour of *Bramins*; until at length the *King*'s conquered *domains* are rendered of no account, or wholly parcelled out to ſupport meditated rebellion, muſt be again reunited under refractory ſubjects, in the form of hereditary independant poſſeſſions:—No, not any ſuch dangerous ſuperfluities or embezzlements would probably have been allowed to *Zemindars*, thoſe neceſſary ſervile links in Eaſtern deſpotiſm to connect the diſtant extremes of *Prince* and

*Reyut*. Nothing beyond a ſplendid family ſubſiſtence, with juſt ſuch an overplus of income as might ſerve to ſupport official dignity, conſequential appearance, perſonal pre-eminence, and gentility. This, we believe, would have been the equitable political reſult of Mr. *Buſſey*'s ſcheme of finance, if he had been allowed to complete it; though the ignorant calumniators of that great man, without attending to the other inexhauſtible ſources of private wealth which he poſſeſſed, in commanding the entire miniſterial influence of the *Nizamut*, do not give his diſintereſtedneſs all the credit due to the arrangements, for the time, concluded as the annual revenues of the *Circars*.

*Anarchy*.

In April 1759, by the conqueſt of the fortreſs of *Maſſulipatam*, that great commanding bulwark, the virtual ſovereignty of all the maritime provinces, on either ſide from the river *Gondegama* to the *Chilca* lake, was abſolutely and neceſſarily trans-

ferred from the *French* to the *Britiſh* Government. The gallant officer, however, under whoſe command this new and amazing revolution had been effected, could not conceive the poſſibility of maintaining, under the rule of a mercantile eſtabliſhment, territorial acquiſitions of ſuch vaſt extent. He contented himſelf, and ſtill more fully his employers, in obtaining a formal grant for thoſe diſtricts only, which have ſince conſtituted the immediate dependencies of the conquered capital, from *Salabut Jung*, the *ſuppoſed* rightful ruler of the *Decan*, ſet up by *Buſſy*; and left the viceroy in nominal poſſeſſion of the remainder, loſt in wonder at the generoſity and moderation of the *Engliſh*, though utterly incapable, from court diſtractions, or the local circumſtances of the country itſelf, thus diſmembered from its head, to realiſe the derelicted boon. In conſequence of which, for *ſeven* ſucceeding years, the completeſt anarchy, recorded in the Hiſtory of *Hindoſtan*, prevailed over all the *five* greater *Northern Circars*. The forms, nay, even the remembrance, of civil government ſeemed to be wholly loſt. Lords became vaſſals;

renters were called proprietors; and *Aumildars* changed condition with their inferior officers by accepting *Zemindary Ruſſoons*, or yearly acknowledgments to leſſen the recorded value and ſtanding revenue of the lands. In 1761, an unconſtitutional reform was attempted under the ſanction of illegitimate authority. *Nizam Ally*, the brother of *Salabut Jung*, the actual viceroy, having ſometime before uſurped the general adminiſtration of affairs in the *Decan*, was ſo unfortunate in his tranſactions with the *Mahrattahs* as to be obliged to cede for ever to the *Peſhwa*, territories of the yearly value of *one crore* of rupees. The aſpiring Miniſter regarding the conſequent enfeebled ſtate of the *Nizamut*, rather as the effect of his brother's weakneſs and unworthineſs to rule, than of his own miſconduct, began to entertain thoughts of the *Muſnud*; and to anticipate the princely honours to which he had already been declared apparent heir. In this deſign he the more readily yielded his inferior charge, to a new court faction which roſe on the decline of his own popularity, on being permitted to levy contributions from the eaſtern

refractory provinces, which were to conſtitute a fund of corruption to aſſiſt him in his elevation. At that time *Huſſen Ali Khan* acted in the capacity of *Aumildar* in the *Circars*. This man had in vain inſtigated the *Engliſh* Government to aſſert its rights; at the ſame time he found his authority curtailed in the exerciſe of his office, by the protection given to *Zemindars*. Among numberleſs inſtances of this kind, one *Codant Ram*, of *Derracotah*, a ſmall, but compact, fruitful, and highly-cultivated *Pergunnah*, lying 15 miles ſouth of *Maſſulipatam*, on the banks of the *Kiſtna*, had been invariably aſſeſſed in the books of the *Circar* of *Condapilly* for a revenue of rupees two lacks, nineteen thouſand, four hundred and fifty-ſeven and ſix *annas*, (2,19,457,6). The groſs *Moſuſſil* receipts exceeded this amount, in the ſum of ſixty thouſand rupees, which defrayed the expence of internal management, ſuch as *Sebundy*, with the *Ruſſooms* and *Saverums* of the *Zemindar*, and other leſſer officers of Government. *Codant Ram*, a ſenſible, intelligent man, and at this day, without exception, the moſt ſkilful farmer in any

of the provinces, according to popular eſtimation, availed himſelf of the prevailing diſtractions, on reinſtatement in the *Zemindary* management, from which he had been ſuſpended by the *French*, to obtain an annual diminution of his uſual rent on the plea of predatory and other loſſes ſuſtained by the inhabitants of the diſtrict in the period of his ſuſpenſion. He was ſeconded by the then Chief of *Maſſulipatam*, who, undoubtedly conceiving him aggrieved, interceded ſo powerfully in his behalf, that, for the ſmall additional conſideration of nine thouſand *Pagodas* paid to the *Aumildar*, the *Zemindary*, in the firſt inſtance, was only rated at forty-eight thouſand rupees on the general rent roll, though afterwards increaſed to 18,000 *pagodas* or ſeventy-two thouſand rupees, but with a continuation of the ſame annual douceur on ſettling the *Jummabundy*. In this ſituation of affairs, curtailed in power and emolument, *Huſſen Ali* ſolicited ſtrongly the known ambitious *Nizam Ali*, who had already ſet out in queſt of his pecuniary object, to viſit and reform his own diſtracted juriſdiction. The invitation

was gladly accepted, nor was the expedition fruitleſs. Titles and *Sunnuds* were laviſhly beſtowed on the *Zemindars* for paying up arrears of revenue, or attaching them to the perſonal fortunes of the diſcarded *Miniſter*, who was meditating rebellion againſt his brother, the immediate ſovereign. Theſe favours, illegal, unſubſtantial in themſelves, did not even in *form* transfer any of the rights of *Mogul* royalty; and were only a temporary confirmation of ancient grants to new uſurping landholders; every *Tahſeeldar*, or petty *Muſſulman*, and *French* collector, held and exerciſed the ſame prerogative on their firſt acceſſion, or yearly ſettlement of accounts; and the fees admitted of, on ſuch occaſions, were no inconſiderable benefit to all the officers of government. Nevertheleſs, the privileges conferred, in this period of confuſion, as coming from ſuperior authority, and flattering to the vanity of upſtart pretenders, became ſoon afterwards in ſuch repute, that *forgeries* of them were common: *twenty* rupees could purchaſe an impreſſion of the counterfeit ſeal; and *eight annas* more might have alienated half the

*regalities* of *Hindoſtan*, as far as they were, at the diſpoſal of an *adroit Perſian Mutſeddy*, or writer. But now a revolution was preparing from abroad to rectify theſe glaring abſurdities, and ſubſtitute conſtitutional rule in the room of the moſt licentious diſorders, oppreſſion, and tyrannical anarchy, which had actually reduced the *Nizam*'s receipts from all the provinces north of the *Kiſtna*, on a medium of five ſucceſſive years, to ſomething leſs than *three* lacks of rupees annually.

*Britiſh Rule.*

THIS was no other than the grand political change glorioufly begun ten years before, and finally executed in 1766 by the immediate atchievement, or under the auſpices of the immortal *Clive*, which increaſed the *Britiſh* Empire, not ſo particularly in the *Eaſt*, perhaps, as univerſally, to its greateſt ſplendour and magnitude; though at the ſame time, with reſpect to the *Circars*, it could only be conſidered as adding territorial poſſeſſion, under written

forms, to previous conquered right. *Sunnuds* the moſt ample and legal were procured from the actual, rightful, acknowledged Emperor of *Hindoſtan*, transferring in perpetuity to the great *India* Company the entire, free, and unconditional ſovereignty of that portion of his hereditary dominions, the preſent object of conſideration, and then nominally under the weak factious adminiſtration of his delegate, or rather the ſelf-conſtituted viceroy of the *Decan*. An army of about 3000 ſeapoys at once enforced the grant, and terrified the *Nizam* into a ſolemn confirmation of it by treaty; but with a voluntary acknowledgement, on the part of the *Engliſh*, which, though of longer duration than originally expected, muſt be allowed ſufficiently to ſupport the national claim to generoſity and moderation. An inſidious combination and war, commenced a twelvemonth afterwards in return for ſuch ſubſtantial favour, ſoon glorioufly terminated however by the battle of *Trinomalee*, 1768, ſerved only to ſtrengthen and give permanency to the tenure of theſe important recent acquiſitions, with rather a diminu-

tion of the *pecuniary gratuity*, erroneouſly called a *Peſhcuſh*, or tribute, paid yearly on certain conditions to the *Soubah*, in conſequence of the former negociation. Nor will it ſeem a matter of ſo much ſurpriſe, that an incumbrance ſo large, dangerous, and, as it afterwards appeared, ſo ill beſtowed, ſhould have at all entered into the *original* agreement, or that an entire remiſſion of it ſhould not have formed an article of the *ſecond*, when it is conſidered, that in *both* caſes, conceſſions the moſt mortifying and infinitely of greater eſtimation, were exacted and obtained for the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, the mortal enemy and declared rival of his ſuperior, the *Nizam*; and a variety of other circumſtances and political combinations oppoſed a more advantageous ſettlement; ſuch as that the ſphere of *Britiſh* Government in the *Eaſt* was but recently enlarged by the acquiſition of extenſive territory; that men's minds, formed only to the contracted ſcale of mercantile policy, were conſequently unprepared inſtantaneouſly to embrace objects ſo various, complicated, and of ſo vaſt a ſcope; or that if a few individuals

of ſuperior genius could be found who comprehended the theory, yet ſtill experience was wanting for the practice. That, on the other hand, the higheſt and moſt formidable ideas were then entertained of the power, pretenſions, and rights of the *Viceroy* of the *Decan*; that in proportion as the glare of theſe was to vaniſh from popular ſight, ſo the gratuitous tribute it commanded, was to be of ſhort duration, ſubject to many future contingencies, and at all events, agreeably to the law of nations as univerſally underſtood in the *Eaſt*, as well as to the ſpirit, and not contrary to the letter of ſubſiſting treaties, was abſolutely and finally to ceaſe on the death, or removal of the actual incumbent. Neither is to be wondered, even at this day, after a lapſe of full ſeventeen years of the moſt profound tranquillity, abundant produce, and commercial benefits, enjoyed, perhaps for the firſt time, for ages paſt in all the *Circars*, if the *Eaſt-India* Company have not as yet entirely entered into their leaſt equivocal and more undoubted proprietory rights. Their ſervants in this country are placed under the moſt embarraſſing, unrea-

ſonable circumſtances. The purſuit of *fortune* can be the only private object, to ſuffer probable death and certain loſs of health, in a foreign climate deſtitute of all natural or ſocial pleaſures, according to the bent of a tolerably well-finiſhed *European* education. Not only the moſt rigid reſtraints *formally* are oppoſed to the gratification of this ruling deſire originating from factitious neceſſity, but likewiſe all viſible means of ſubſiſtence are *actually* denied. At the ſame time the temptations in miniſterial offices are ſtrong, but not ſo much in the pride of holding them, as in their attendant emoluments. The virtue of the preſent age is weak; while refinements of the underſtanding are capable of finding out and reconciling evaſions of the *civil*, only to obey the more powerful *law* of *natural reaſon*. Prejudices are conſequently entertained at home againſt *Indian* adminiſtration in general. Theſe create diſguſt abroad. No incitements are held out for induſtry, improvement, or diſintereſted conduct. The evil becomes extreme: it is found to be deeply rooted in the original conſtitution of government; and if at all to be rectified, it can

only be through the lenient, wiſe, and powerful interpoſition of the Britiſh legiſlature. The taſk is begun, with ſome hopes of completion; yet if it ſhould appear in courſe of a vigorous proſecution, that millions have been loſt to the public in lieu of thouſands pocketted by individuals, it by no means follows that mere penal laws rigidly enforced by the moſt virtuous adminiſtration in the univerſe, will prove effectual, when due attention is not paid to the local circumſtances, and craving private intereſts of agents neceſſarily employed, at the diſtance of near half the globe from the high controling power, in large diſcretionary confidential truſts. Or rather, perhaps, according to a former obſervation, it may happen, that "ſhould reſtrictive laws be written in blood, and *Minos* himſelf the judge, unaccompanied by reaſon, they would be as the dead letter of tyranny, oppoſed by bold neceſſity, or eluded by the timid craft and villainy of ſlavery." But to return from this digreſſion to the ſubject of our hiſtorical detail, it is neceſſary to remark, that even after the formal ceſſion of the *Circars*, ſo liberally paid for by the Com-

pany, their arms had ſtill to ſubdue, at a great expence, the *Zemindars* of *Cicacole* and *Rajemundry*, inſtigated to be refractory through the former weakneſs, and preſent machinations of their ejected *Muſſulman* rulers; while the farming land-holders of *Ellore* and *Condapillee* more readily ſubmitted, under a written promiſe from the military commander, of the continuation of their privileges on certain conditions, which of courſe were never voluntarily to be fulfilled by a people, who the firſt time in the tradition of ages, had heard of ſtipulation, propoſed by conquerors. The fate of *Guntour* was ſingular: nor doth the poſſeſſion of it, yet complete the conquered granted right of ſovereignty. A ſeven-years leaſe of this province, granted to *Baſalut Jung*, by his brother *Salabut Jung*, the *viceroy*, to enable the *former* to entertain the party of *Frenchmen* to be expelled from the limits of the *Decan*, ignorantly deſcribed by the *River Kiſtna on the South*, and thus virtually ſet aſide the agreement entered into by the *latter* (in 1759) with the *Engliſh* Government, was juſt expired at the period of concluding the treaty of *Hydrabad* in 1766:

and though the *Nizam Ali*, the ſucceſſor of *Salabut Jung*, at this time would have conſidered the extermination of his brother the *Leſſee*, a more deſirable circumſtance than the renewal of his holding, and ſoon afterwards actually propoſed the alternative; yet as the latter proceeding curtailed the advantages of a more formidable natural enemy, and left great room for future contingencies, ſo the farm of *Guntour* was continued to *Baſalut Jung*, but under the erroneous deſcription of a *Jageer*, on conditions acknowledged to have been broken on his part in 1768, and always depending on the good will and pleaſure of his immediate proprietory ſuperiors, who at the ſame time enjoyed the moſt rightful, extenſive, and powerful ſovereignty actually exiſting in *Hindoſtan*. But ſtrange to relate! in 1779, we find the local repreſentatives of this mighty government change conditions with a petty vaſſal, and put themſelves on a footing with the little proprietor of the *Circar* of *Adoni*, to obtain the rental of *Guntour*, that they might have the honor of ſub-letting it to their greater feudatory *Naivaub* or deputy, the lately conſtituted *Soubahdar* of the *Car-*

*natic*, as in propriety he muſt be called, ſince there are no treaties, or circumſtances of equality, to authorize his being diſtinguiſhed as a federate ally, or otherwiſe. Such a reverſal of the natural order of things could not be of long duration. Ignorant, ambitious neighbouring rulers, conſtrued a total dereliction of dignity, right and power, into a conſcious incapacity of governing, unleſs through the vain medium of their own flattered ability and ſupremacy; and as an earneſt of greater acquiſitions, the *Nizam*, in November 1780, ſeized the province in queſtion; which was now ordered to be evacuated by the *Engliſh* troops, and has, from a ſeries of (to him) fortunate circumſtances, continued in his poſſeſſion even beyond the period of its final, abſolute reverſion to the company on the 5th of October 1782, when death put an end to all and ſingular pretenſions of *Baſalut Jung*.

The reſulting benefits of occupancy therefore ſhould not be eſtimated by an *annual* revenue of *twelve lacks* of *rupees* which might have been received, with only

a deduction of *two* for the firſt year paid to the ſuſpended *Jageerdar*; nor by the local importance of, and military or political conſequence derived from, the territory itſelf; but ought to be computed rather according to the Britiſh loſs, in ſuffering, though it muſt be acknowledged, hitherto from ſad neceſſity, or expediency, through temporary embarraſſments, ſuch large advantages to be quietly enjoyed by a natural, inſidious, contemptible enemy.

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"After the death of *Baſalut Jung*, Lord *Cornwallis* liquidated all accounts with the *Nizam*, and obtained poſſeſſion of the *Guntour*. The Company paid him a large balance for arrears, and entered into engagements for the regular payment of the whole annual *tribute* of ſeven *lacks*!" and Mr. *Ruſſell* informs us * "that the *law officers* of the *Company* have given it as their opinion that the *ſovereignty* remains in *the country powers*, and *that no courts of judicature can be inſti-*

* Short Hiſtory, 2d. edit. page 72, opinions of the Company's Advocate General and Solicitor General, *Fort St. George*, July, 1783.

*tuted but by the authority of the Mogul or his Soubah!*" from the authority I have above ſtated, I deny abſolutely the fact which Mr. *Ruſſell* contends, "that the *Circars* were never conquered by the Company, and that it will not be liable to account for the revenues of them to the public, after the expiration of the preſent act." * The ſovereignty of the *Circars*, according to legal conſtruction of *Indian* grants, being more clearly in favour of *Great Britain* than it is in *Bengal*, the ſooner ſuch erroneous and ruinous opinions are denied, and impolitic conceſſions are diſtinguiſhed from juſtice and policy, the ſooner we ſhall be able to render the ſubjects of *Britiſh India* proſperous, and to eſtabliſh the intereſts and honor of the *Britiſh* Government.

* Short Hiſtory, page 72.

## CHAP. XVII.

*On the competition of the* French *and* Engliſh *for territory in* India.

THE curſory review of the *French* and *Engliſh* affairs in *India*, involves in it ſo much of the political hiſtory of *India*, that a ſeparate treatiſe inſtead of a chapter, would be uſefully devoted to the ſubject. I ſhall only ſtate ſo much as may recall to our memory the real origin and pretenſions of the preſent native and European ſovereigns, to their reſpective dominions in *India*.

The progreſs of the *Engliſh* from the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was ſlow, until *Bombay* and *St. Helena* became a part of the *Britiſh* empire, by the marriage of King *Charles* II. with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and were granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company. The creation of the new company in 1697, which ſoon was incorporated with the old

Company into the exiſting Company of united merchants trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, is in fact the date of the extended commerce of *Great Britain* in *India*.

The excluſive privileges granted by *Henry* the IVth of *France*, in 1604, to merchants, and of *Louis* XIV. in 1664, to a *French* company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, were followed by their ſettlement at *Surat* in 1667, and at *Pondicherry* in 1676, on a grant from *Sagoge* the *Mahrattah* conqueror of the *Carnatic*, who made himſelf King of *Tanjore*.

It was after the peace of *Ryſwick* that both nations, in imitation of the *Dutch*, connected commercial adventurers under the control of poltical adminiſtration; the union of *Engliſh Eaſt-India* adventurers into one company, and its connection with the ſtate ſubſequent to that period, has been ſufficiently explained. The *French*, in the year 1719, formed four companies, viz. the Company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, to *China*, to *America*, and to *Africa*, into

one company, called the perpetual company of the *Indies*. The rivalſhip of *France* was limited to commerce, till after *Nadir Shah* had invaded *Hindoſtan*. The *French* company was empowered to raiſe troops and erect fortifications for the defence, and preſervation of its ſettlements;* and the crown of *France* publicly engaged to aſſiſt with its navies and armies, in caſe the company was troubled in its poſſeſſions by the enemies of the ſtate †.

The *Engliſh* obtained greater privilege in *Bengal* than the *French*, from the *Mogul*, in 1715, who, however, forbade the erection of fortifications; and the *French* had obtained permiſſion to ſettle in the *Carnatic*, from *Sagoge*, the *Mahrattah*, on the expreſs condition that they would not take any part in his wars; ‡ and it appears that both nations "ſaw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a juſt idea of commerce, and a Government at that time

* 26 Art. Edict of 1664.

† Memoire de la Compagnie des *Indes*, 1763, p. 10.

‡ Ibid. and Revolut. des *Indes*, t. 1, p. 67.

well adminiſtered; they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppreſſion." * The correſpondence of the *Engliſh* Governor, in 1730, was probably in the ſame terms as *le Sieur Le Noir*, the French Governor, "I will ſend you as much merchandize, as you will ſend me money to pay for;" † and King *Alfred*'s miſſioner to the Chriſtians of *St. Thomas* probably did not find the *Syrian* merchants more intent on their commerce, than the company's ſervants were on the ſame ſpot in 1740. The able and gallant *Mahé de la Bourdonnois*, ſent with the *French* King's and company's commiſſion, as Governor of *Bourbon*, in 1746, began to trade with an armed force, and took *Madras*, which he reſtored for a conſiderable ranſom. It is even ſaid ‡ in 1748, when Admiral *Boſcawen* brought a force to retaliate by an attack of *Pondicherry*, the troops were ſtopt near the *French* limits, by the fort

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.
† Memoire de la Compagnie, page 11.
‡ *Orme*, Vol. I. page 101.

*Ariancopany*, of which no one could give any deſcription to the General.

Two circumſtances, however, had materially altered the company's relation to *India*, excluſive of the armed force from *Europe*, conveyed ſo far, to diſpute the ſuperiority between the *French* and *Engliſh*, rivals in every part of the globe*. "The *Soubahs* of diſtant provinces diſcovered the weakneſs, to which the power of the Emperor was reduced, by the invaſion of *Nadir Shah*: they were no longer reſtrained by fear; each aſſumed and exerciſed ſovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family." The *Nizam Ul Moolk*, great chancellor and generaliſſimo of the empire, had under his juriſdiction (the *Decan*) near one fourth of the empire, in which without rebellion, he made himſelf nearly independant of the *Mogul*; he openly cenſured the lethargic conduct, and profligate manners of the court of *Mahomed Shah*, and had adviſed *Thomas Kouli Khan* to invade *Hin-*

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

*doſtan*, * and retired from court. He left his eldeſt ſon, *Gazi Ul Dien*, in high favour with the *Mogul*; and in 1748, † he was one of the conſpirators who occaſioned the Emperor's death. The *Nizam*'s ſecond ſon, *Nazir Jung*, during his father's reſidence at *Delhi*, had governed in his name in the *Decan*; he revolted, and it required all the force of the *Nizam* to reduce him. *Muzafa Jung* ſon of the *Nizam*'s only daughter, was entruſted with the government of *Adoni*, and was his favourite. When the *Perſian* had overrun *Hindoſtan*, and reſtored to the *Mogul* the countries to the eaſt of the *Indus* and *Attock*, the *Nizam* was relieved from the fear of this progreſs; but he was not ſufficiently confident in the *Mogul*'s good will, to venture to march againſt uſurpers in the diſtant parts of the *Nizamut*, to check the defection from his own government; he invited the *Mahrattahs* to plunder the country, when he could not protect the tributary *Rajahs* from *Mahomedan* uſurpation.

* *Orme*, Vol. I.

† *Buſſey*'s Letters.

The *Mogul*, unable to defend the part of his empire around *Delhi* from *Abdalla*, or the provinces of *Bengal* from his *Soubahs*, was alſo under the neceſſity of calling on foreign aid. The *Europeans*, in every inſtance in which they did not counteract each other, eſtabliſhed a deciſive ſuperiority.

The other circumſtance, which altered the relation of the *Europeans*, to natives, aroſe from the ability of Mr. *Dupleix*, appointed in 1720, firſt counſellor of the ſuperior council of *Pondicherry*, commiſſary of war, and director of the *Comptoir* of *Chandernagor*, in 1731. During ten years at *Pondicherry*, he had been the active aſſiſtant of the Governor *Le Noir*, he *introduced* the private trade between the ports in *India*, and had amaſſed a conſiderable fortune. When he arrived in *Bengal*, a new ſcene opened to him; and during the eleven years he ſtayed there, that ſettlement was augmented by 2000 brick houſes,* and the number of ſhips employed gave jealouſy

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, page 15.

to other factories, and increaſed his private fortune to ſome millions of *rupees*; the oppreſſion by which the native uſurpers ſupported their independance, was now become neceſſary, " in their turn the *Europeans* were oppreſſed; Mr. *Dupleix* was the firſt who took the alarm, and the firſt who diſcovered the ſuperiority of *European* diſcipline; from hence he was led to the idea of acquiring a territorial ſovereignty." * The ſcene of his action was in the *Decan*; he was appointed, in 1742, Governor General of *India*, and Governor of *Pondicherry*. During the government of his predeceſſor, Mr. *Dumas*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic* availed himſelf of the critical ſituation of the Emperor, and of his immediate ſuperior, the *Nizam*, at the period *Thamas Kouli Khan* attacked *Hindoſtan*, to throw off dependance on either. *Doaſt Ali Khan*, to confirm his dependance as *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, permitted *Subder Ali* his preſumptive heir, and *Chundah Saheb* his ſon-in-law, to invade *Trichinopoly*, capital of *Madura*, one of the kingdoms the *Mogul* had left tributary under its own

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

government *, and which had maintained itſelf againſt the *Mahrattah* conqueror. The king of *Tanjore* at that time applied to the *French* for ſuccour, and for the ſum of 3000 *Pagodas*. *Carikal* and its territory were ceded to the *French*; the death and defeat of *Sagogi*, and the delays of the new king of *Tanjore* retarded that acquiſition till the year 1739. About the ſame period the *French* acquired the privilege of coining; they had obtained it in 1736, by the *Sunnud* of *Mahommed Shah*; † they had it alſo from the *Nizam*, but they thought it neceſſary to have the *Sunnud* alſo of the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*. ‡ Mr. *Dumas* obtained this permiſſion from the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, through his treaſurer, who was the *Nabob* of *Arcot*. §

The *French* government gained advantages and credit by looking on at the revolution in the *Carnatic*. The widow of the

* Memoire de la Compagnie, page 24.

† Eſſais Hiſtorique ſur l'Inde.

‡ Revolut. des *Indes*, T. 1, p. 74.

§ Memoire de la Compagnie, p. 12.

*Rajah*, who governed *Madura*, and reſided at *Trichinopoly*, reſiſted the attack of the *Carnatic* army for ſix months. *Chundah Saheb* at length offered a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and was admitted into *Trichinopoly* on his ſwearing by the *Koran* not to renew them. The queen however was the firſt victim; her treaſures were ſeized; the uſurper proclaimed himſelf *Nabob* of *Trichinopoly*.

The *Nizam* invited *Ragogi Bonſolo*, a *Mahrattah* Prince, to reduce the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, and reſent his uſurpation and treacherous barbarity. *Doaſtan Ali Khan* oppoſed the *Mahrattahs*, and was killed fighting gallantly at the head of his army, which was routed. His widow and family fled to the gates of *Pondicherry* to implore protection, which Mr. *Dumas* gave to them. *Ragogi* demanded them; but when ſummoned to give up the widow and the remainder of *Doaſtan Alli Khan*'s family and riches, the *French* Governor anſwered, "You ſay you are going to take *Gingy*; that depends on your will: we ſhall find arms and ſoldiers, which, however, we ſhall not employ but againſt thoſe who attack us un-

juſtly:" and he added, that the family of *Doaſtan Ali Khan* and *Chundah Saheb* experienced only that hoſpitality and protection which he would give, with the ſame good faith, to any Gentile prince who ſhould reclaim it *. *Ragogi Bonſolo* proceeded with his army to *Trichinopoly*, where, after three months ſiege, *Chundah Saheb* was forced, by ſcarcity of proviſions, to ſurrender, after his brother, *Bara Saheb*, in a deſperate attempt to raiſe the ſiege, had loſt his life. *Ragogi* loaded *Chundah Saheb* and his eldeſt ſon with irons, and carried them, with all the treaſure he had collected, to his own country. He left *Sabder Ali Khan* at *Arcot*, who ſoon after was aſſaſſinated at *Velour*, leaving a ſon ſix years old. After the retreat of the *Mahrattahs*, the *Nizam* came into the *Carnatic*, to reſtore his authority, with 100,000 men. He poſſeſſed himſelf of *Trichinopoly*; he ſettled the tribute with the King of *Tanjore*, and gave the government of the *Carnatic* and *Madura* to the infant ſon of *Sabder Ali Khan*, and appointed the *Nabob* of

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 27.

*Cicacole*, named *Anwur Ul Dien Khan**, regent. He was not long inſtalled before the child was murdered. It has been made a queſtion whether *Anwur Ul Dien* †, or *Chundah Saheb* inſtigated the murder‡: notwithſtanding the former, from regent, inſtalled himſelf *Nabob*, and maintained for himſelf the government; and the latter was at that time priſoner with *Ragogi*, who had impoſed ſo high a ſum as his ranſom, that his fortune ſeemed deſperate. All this paſſed in 1743, the year after *Dupleix* had begun his adminiſtration; his mercantile concerns had pervaded *India*, and, according to his account, the *Mogul* had conferred dignities on him. He had been made *Nabob* 4½ *Azary*, *Kammun-Soubdar*, *Zafferzingue Badour* §: and he explained theſe titles in a letter of the 7th of October, 1742; adding, "The greateſt advantages of theſe titles are the revenues annexed to them, which are very conſider-

* Called by the *French*, *Anaverdikan*.

† Mem. de *Dupleix*, p. 41.

‡ Mem. de la Comp. p. 28.

§ Ibid. p. 29.

able; but it is not proper to demand them, becauſe to the revenue is annexed the obligation of furniſhing the contingent of cavalry for the army whenever it is required *."

Though he affected to deſpiſe *ces frivolités*, he was in fact an *umpire* between the uſurpers in the *Carnatic*.

Before *Labordonnois* took *Madras*, in 1746, *Dupleix* had engaged to give it up to *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* †. *Labordonnois*, without *Dupleix*'s knowledge, ranſomed the town. Theſe oppoſite arrangements prevented *Dupleix* from fulfilling his own engagements; but he would not confirm the quiet poſſeſſion to the *Engliſh*. *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* marched againſt the *French* at *Madras*; and *Dupleix* not being able to cruſh him, after ſome warfare, entered into new agreements; and the *Nabob*'s ſon

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 29.

† Ibid. p. 31.

was received at *Pondicherry* with great honours, in 1747 *.

While *Dupleix* had been in treaty to give up *Madras* to *Anwur Ul Dien*, *Chundah Saheb*, from his priſon, negociated the aid of *Dupleix* to pay his ranſom, and to depoſe *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*; in 1745 the *French* Governor lent 240,000 livres of the Company's caſh to *Chundah Saheb* towards paying his ranſom; and in October *Dupleix* informed the Company, that an army of *Mahrattahs* might be expected to eſtabliſh *Chundah Saheb*, *Nabob* of the *Carnatic* †. *Chundah Saheb*, however, failed in obtaining the aid of the *Mahrattahs*: he went to the *Nizam*'s court, who would not favour his ambition: the year 1749 opened a new ſcene which favoured his pretenſions.

The *Nizam Ul Moolk* died; his ſecond ſon, *Nazir Jung*, who had been aſſociated in the Government, and commanded the army, immediately aſſumed the *Soubahſhip*

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 31.
† Ibid. p. 32.

of the *Decan*; he obtained alſo a *Sunnud* from the *Mogul*. *Chundah Saheb* went inſtantly to *Muzafa Jung*, the favourite grandſon of the late *Soubah*, then *Nabob* of *Adoni*, and offered his aſſiſtance and that of Mr. *Dupleix* to ſupport his pretenſions to the *Soubahſhip*, if, in return, he would inſtall him the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and diſpoſſeſs *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*. On this agreement the proper *Paravanas* were diſpatched; the embaſſy to *Pondicherry* was received, in the beginning of 1749, with great *eclat*. The Governor, without conſulting the ſuperior council, engaged to put all the troops of the Company in the pay of *Chunda Saheb* from the 1ſt of March; who in return gave Mr. *Dupleix* all the territory of *Villenour*, conſiſting of 42 *aldees*, ſituated near *Pondicherry*; in July 1749, the council confirmed his agreement.

The *French* army marched in July to *Arcot*, was joined by *Muzafa Jung*'s army, and near the fort *Amour*, *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*, aged 107 years, gallantly maintained the conteſt: the *French* rallied three times, and the old man being killed, the victory

was complete. The treaſure and pillage of the camp was eſtimated at two millions of *pagodas*, which the *French* took: *Mahomed Ali Khan*, the ſon of the old *Nabob*, eſcaped to *Trichinopoly*.

From the letters of the Company to their Governor at *Pondicherry* it is evident they knew very little of native princes: their errors are adduced as evidence of *Dupleix*'s having deceived them*, though his plans are not to be miſtaken in his letters. "I will procure a kingdom in *India*, and make you as much reſpected as other powers, by dethroning two princes, and placing in their ſtates *Chundah Saheb* and *Muzafa Jung*. I will extend your poſſeſſions to the gates of *Delhi*; and, at the bare name of *Frenchman*, all, to the *Mogul*, ſhall tremble in *Hindoſtan*. Commerce hitherto has entirely engroſſed you; let us abandon to the *Engliſh*, and to our rivals, that object of their jealouſy, and let us prepare by our conqueſts to give them regrets a thouſand times

* Letter of the Company, July 15, 1750.

more bitter than thoſe which have been cauſed by our ſucceſs in commerce *."

The treaſures of the *Nizamut* having been ſeized by *Nazir Jung*, the treaſures of *Tanjore* became the firſt object of *Muzafa Jung* and his *Nabob*. In policy he ought to have purſued *Mahommed Ali* to *Trichinopoly*; but at that period the hereditary right of *Mahommed Ali* was no title, though he was the beſt competitor to oppoſe to *Chundah Saheb*; and a ſupply of money was of greater importance to *Muzafa Jung* than the life of *Mahommed Ali*. The King of *Tanjore* called on the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* to aſſiſt him; and *Muzafa Jung* and *Chunda Saheb* loſt a month in a fruitleſs attempt to take *Tanjore*, which *Mahommed Ali* employed in ſtrengthening *Trichinopoly*; when the *French* with their allies were obliged to collect their forces to oppoſe *Nazir Jung*, who nominated *Mahommed Ali Nabob* of *Arcot*, and entered the *Carnatic* at the head of 120,000 men,

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 24.

and received homage from the *Engliſh* *. The *French* troops mutinied; *Dupleix*, however, joined *Chundah Saheb*'s troops under the walls of *Pondicherry*: *Muzafa Jung*, intimidated, ſurrendered himſelf to his uncle, who puniſhed his competition by loading him with irons, and proceeded againſt the *French* and *Chundah Saheb*. *Dupleix*, on the approach of the *Nizam*, *Nazir Jung*, opened a negociation; and on the 28th of April he ſurpriſed a part of the *Nizam*'s camp, and defeated his army.—After this check *Nazir Jung* retreated to *Arcot*, but returned the October following with 85,000 men, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of ordnance. *Dupleix* again negociated; the *Nizam* having experienced conſiderable loſs, and unwilling that his ſtandard ſhould again retire without victory, received the deputies, and confirmed to the *French* all their former grants. It is evident *Dupleix* had placed his great dependance on a ſecret negociation with ſome *Patan* officers and diſaffected chiefs; for, before the final concluſion of the negocia-

* *Orme*, Vol. I.

tion, the *French* forces attacked the *Nizam*'s army, three parts of which remained inactive; and when the *Nizam* ſhewed himſelf to the army on his elephant, he was ſhot by one of his *Patan* generals, and the battle ceaſed*. *Muzafa Jung* was releaſed, and ſucceeded to the *Nizamut* with the conſent of both armies: the inveſtiture over, all the *Nabobs* ſwore, on the *Koran*, inviolable fidelity to the *new Soubah*, and the *French* intereſt was re-eſtabliſhed.—Some of the ſame *Patan* chiefs revolted, and *Muzafa Jung* was killed in the engagement. *Buſſy* repaired this new misfortune, by immediately promoting *Salabut Jung*, brother to *Nazir Jung*, to the *Nizamut*.

It has been ſaid that *Salabut Jung* was the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of *Nizam Ul Moolk*; he was the eldeſt of the brothers then priſoners with the army of the *Nizam* in the *Carnatic*. His elder brother, *Gazi Ul Dien* †, obtained the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund* for the *Nizamut*, and marched againſt *Sala-*

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 48.

† Ibid. p. 62. Lettres de *Buſſy*, June 1752.

*but Jung* and *Buſſy*; fortunately this rival died, and enabled them to unite all their force againſt *Balaje Row*, the *Mahrattah*, who had invaded part of the *Decan* near *Aurengabad*, and had agreed to ſupport the *Engliſh* in maintaining *Mahommed Ali* in the *Carnatic*, by a detachment of 30,000 men from his armies. *Buſſy* had the ability to make a treaty with *Balaje Row*, and to confirm *Salabut Jung* in the *Nizamut*. The ſcene was now ſo complicated, and the rapid ſucceſſion of events had diſſipated ſo much treaſure, that even *Buſſy* thought it neceſſary to appriſe the Company of his opinion. In 1752 Mr. *Buſſy* wrote to Mr. *Dupleix*, that it was evident the *Mogul* Empire was near its extinction, and the *Mahrattahs*, riſing on its ruin, would ſoon be maſters of *Hindoſtan**. The *Nizam*'s *Duan* had informed *Buſſy*, that there was no money in the treaſury; the *Nizam* could find no reſource but to quit the interior of the *Decan* to collect contribution from the *Carnatic*.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 63.

The *French* treaſury was exhauſted, having maintained the forces of the *Nizam* and of their Company for two years. The *Shroffs* were not to be perſuaded to lend more money; and the peace with *Balaje Row* had been obtained, from expectation that the *French* would be better able to ſecond his private views of aggrandiſement than the *Engliſh**. The *French* ſettlement in the *Circar* of *Rajemundry* had been plundered by *Nazir Jung*. Mr. *Montaran* informed *Dupleix* †, that two years peace had not reſtored commerce; and that guarding againſt probable interruptions of projects for empire was as expenſive as war; various plans were propoſed.

Mr. *Duqueſne*'s correſpondence with Mr. *Dupleix* ſuggeſted the value of *Tanjore*, and the real facility of defending it againſt all *India*; and that by taking poſſeſſion of the river of *Pegu*, the projects of the *Engliſh* might be defeated, and its excluſive trade ſecured.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 57, Feb. 1752.

† Ibid. p. 65.

*Buſſy*, however, cautioned *Dupleix* againſt falling again too deeply in complicated plans: he informed him, "that he had no idea of the Government of the *Mogul*, of the internal management of the country, of their manners, and character of the natives *;" and that the ſafeſt way would be not to meddle with any of their affairs: and he fairly told him, that it was difficult to ſend a perſon capable of conducting the intereſts of an *European* nation in *India*. "D'ailleurs, ſi vous pouviez être tenté de vous reembarquer, je ne vois pas trop, a vous parler naivement, qui vous pouviez charger d'une commiſſion ſi délicate †." *Buſſy* at that time was returning, on account of his ill health, to *Maſſulipatam*; and he had no ſooner quitted *Salabut Jung*, than a change of adminiſtration took place. The *French* troops were diſcontinued from being the *Nizam*'s body guard, and the rivals of the *French* and their native enemies formed the new council of the *Soubah*. The *Paravana* of the

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 64.

† *Buſſy*'s Letter, Nov. 29, 1752.

*Carnatic*, which *Salabut Jung* had given in 1751, for the confirmation of which, by the *Mogul*, 100,000 rupees had been remitted to *Delhi* by the *French* *, was of little avail on this emergency. *Dupleix* urged *Buſſy* to return to *Aurengabad*, which he did; and, by his deciſion and perſonal ability, reinſtated the old adminiſtration, and obtained the grant of the *Circars*, that the *French* might, from that ſource of revenue, pay their own troops, independant of the *Carnatic* treaſury, intended to be eſtabliſhed by the *Nizam* at *Pondicherry*. The *Engliſh* policy obviouſly was to countermine the *French* policy, and to ſupport *Mahommed Ali* againſt the *Nizam*'s *Nabob*, *Chundah Saheb*. Their allies were ſome *Mahrattah* Chiefs, the King of *Tanjore*, the *Nabob* of *Velour*. *Dupleix*, by the aid of *Buſſy*, rendered the *French* intereſt prevalent in the *Decan*; in vain did he remonſtrate with Governor *Saunders* againſt the aid given to *Mahommed Ali*. The arms of the *Engliſh*, and more particularly the riſing influence and ability of *Clive*, who ſerved

* Mem. de la Comp.

under Major *Lawrence*, prevailed in the *Carnatic*. The diſobedience and want of ability of *Law*, oppoſed to *Lawrence*, began the reverſe of *Dupleix*'s fortunes, and proved fatal to *Chundah Saheb*: by raiſing the ſeige of *Trichinopoly*, *Law* and the *Nabob* were in their turn cooped up in *Siringham*. The mercenary allies were bribed to deſert *Chundah Saheb*, who ſurrendered his army and treaſures on the moſt ſolemn engagement of a ſafe guard to the *French* ſettlement. Major *Lawrence*, the *Mahrattahs*, and *Mahommed Ali*, could not truſt each other with the priſoner, and he was murdered in cold blood. In 1752 *Clive* purſued his career againſt the *French*, took *Law* priſoner, and eſtabliſhed the credit of the *Engliſh*. In November 1752 *Buſſy* adviſed *Dupleix* to make the beſt peace he could with the *Engliſh* and *Mahommed Ali*, becauſe the *Engliſh*, at *Bombay*, were in negociation with *Balaje Row*; and notwithſtanding that chief's alliance with the *French*, he was not unlikely to be gained over to declare in favour of *Mahommed Ali*; and he wiſely obſerved, that war cannot but be fatal to *Europeans* ſo long as they arm

againſt each other *. *Dupleix* was ſuperſeded by *Godeheu* in 1753.

It is remarkable, from the tranſactions of the *Engliſh* as well as of the *French*, how rapidly the influence and ſuperiority of *Europeans* were eſtabliſhed, after the diſorders of the empire admitted of their interference. In 1744, when Commodore *Barnet* appeared on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, *Anwur Ul Dien*, informed the Governor of *Madras*, that "the *Engliſh* on the coaſt were, equally with the *French*, obliged to reſpect his Government; and, if they did not confine their warfare with the *French* to the ſea, the *Town of Madras* ſhould anſwer for their diſobedience †."

When *Labordonnois*, in 1746, took *Madras*, and promiſed to ranſom it, *Dupleix* withheld it from the *Engliſh*; he was counteracted, in his own engagements, to give up the ſettlement to the *Nabob*, by

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 77, Nov. 1752.

† *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

which he had averted the *Nabob*'s interference; and when he kept poſſeſſion, the *Nabob* did march againſt *Dupleix*, and, after a little ſkirmiſhing, ſettled by negociation, though both parties were aware of their want of ſincerity. This, however, was the firſt inſtance in which *Dupleix* diſcovered his pretenſions to the right of diſpoſſeſſing the *Engliſh*, under his authority, as Governor General *: he was ſupported by his court; for *Labordonnois*, on his return from his expedition, was kept three years in the Baſtille, and died ſoon after his acquital: *Dupleix*'s defence of *Pondicherry*, in 1748, not only maintained his credit, but alſo tended to the eſtabliſhing *Muzafa Khan* in the *Nizamut*, and *Chundah Saheb* in the Government of the *Carnatic*. The *Sunnuds* of *Dupleix* have been diſputed; but it cannot be denied that they promoted his negociations with native princes, at a period when the title of the grantor was ſo complicated; and in 1750, when the *Engliſh* had determined, without appearing principals in the war, to ſupport *Mahommed*

* *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

*Ali* as *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and obtained a grant of territory round *Madras*, they ſent deputies to *Nazir Jung*, at that time ſupported by Major *Lawrence* and a battalion of *Engliſh*, to ſolicit the confirmation of *Mahommed Ali*'s grant: but *Shanavez Khan*, Miniſter of *Nazir Jung*, who had alſo been Miniſter of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, and was the decided enemy of *Chundah Saheb*, poſitively refuſed to iſſue a *Firmaund*. Major *Lawrence*, wearied with prevarications, inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer, when he was aſſured by *Nazir Jung*, tha the ſhould be immediately ſatisfied, provided he would march with his battalion to *Arcot*, where *Nazir Jung* had determined to go with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this propoſal, leſt the *French* and *Chundah Saheb* ſhould take advantage of his abſence, and invade the *Engliſh* ſettlements*: It has been aſſerted, againſt the *French* honour, that they had obtained from *Nazir Jung* a confirmation of all their former grants, by negociation, at the time they excited

* *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 49.

the revolt of his *Patan* Generals; and in 1753, it required much cavil to invalidate the patents which they adduced, though the *Engliſh* did not produce any. The *Engliſh* Governor found Mr. *Godeheu*, the immediate ſucceſſor to *Dupleix*, totally ignorant of *India*, and led him into a treaty to eſtabliſh amity and commerce, by equaliſing the advantages of both countries in *India*. The firſt reading of the negociation in *France* dictated the words of the *French* Miniſter, which cloſed the conferences in London, in 1754. "*Le Roi n'entendoit point que la Compagnie des* Indes *de* France *reçut la Compagnie* Anglaiſe *." And it is clear that the proviſional treaty and truce were not in conformity to the King's orders. "*Les circonſtances* ne m'ayant pas permis de me conformer totalement a vos inſtructions," were the words of Governor *Godeheu*, when he ſent home his treaty with Governor *Saunders*. He himſelf did not wait the arrival of his ſucceſſor, Mr. *Leyrit*; and during the adminiſtration of *Godeheu*, and of the Commiſſioners whom he left

* Mem. de *Dupleix*, p. 129.

to adminiſter until his ſucceſſor ſhould arrive, it required all the intelligence of Mr. *Moracin*, and the ability and exertion of *Buſſy*, to keep the intereſts of *France* in any degree together.

Mr. *Ruſſell* inſiſts on diſtinguiſhing the town and dependencies of *Maſſulipatam* from the *Circars*, and refers to Mr. *Dupleix*'s memoirs, in which its revenue is ſtated diſtinctly from thoſe of the *Circars* *. I cannot reject the reference, becauſe no better authority can be referred to. I read in that memoire Mr. *Dupleix*'s opinion of the negociations, and the extent of the ſacrifice which the *French* made when they met the *Engliſh*, to treat for equality of poſſeſſion and influence, as the means of balancing the *French* and *Engliſh* Companies in *India*.

Mr. *Dupleix* obſerves "that *Godeheu* had renounced the benefit of a patent of *Nabob* to all the *French* Governors of *Pondicherry*, and that this title was not empty, for *Salabut Jung* had appointed the *Nabob* of

* Short Hiſtory, page 60

the *Carnatic*, with expreſs orders that his treaſure, or the *Caiſſe General* of the province, ſhould be depoſited at *Pondicherry*, and the armies of *France* ſhould be paid out of the revenues of the *Soubah* *; but excluſive of the contingent benefit of native alliances, the negociation had proceeded on ignorance; not only of *India*, and of the intereſts of *France*, but of the hiſtory of mankind; for in general every nation conducts its own affairs according to its own views in a country, where all *Europeans* have equal rights, and where nations are not reſponſible to each other for the means they employ to extend their commerce, and increaſe or ſecure their eſtabliſhments †; the intereſt maritime powers of *Europe* have to extend political maxims of equality to *India* by proportions underſtood in *Europe*, ſince *Indian* commerce exiſted, has been, and will be, found impracticable; for perpetual opportunity will offer to overſet it, ariſing from the quarrels and perſonal intereſts of native ſtates in *India*.

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 131.

† Ibid. page 135.

*Dupleix* aſks, "whether if the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, when they became rivals of the *Portugueſe*, had propoſed to equaliſe their poſſeſſions, the *Portugueſe* would not have conſidered the propoſal as a deriſion? The *Engliſh*, acting by open force, acquired, by right of conqueſt, advantages they could not expect to gain otherwiſe: it was the ſame with the *Dutch*; and theſe in relation to the *Danes*: the reſult has not produced equality of commerce and poſſeſſions among thoſe three nations."

But to revert to the evidence of Mr. *Dupleix*, whether the financial diviſion of *Maſſulipatam* was alſo a political and geographical diſtinction. He expreſsly ſays that *Maſſulipatam* and the other places named in the articles were part of the province or *Circar* of *Rajemundry*, one of the *Circars* given by the *Soubah* of the *Decan* to pay the *French* army.*

Mr. *Moracin*, in 1754, expreſſes his ſurprize that any one ſhould adviſe the *French*

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 142.

to abandon *Maſſulipatam* and *Divi*, to preſerve in peace *Nizampatnam* and *Condavir*. "Whoever made the overture knew neither the *Carte du pays* nor the intereſts of the Company. It was fortunate (if it is true that the propoſal was made by us to the *Engliſh*) that the *Engliſh* Company was as ignorant as our own company; for I can venture to aſſert, the *Engliſh* would not have rejected an offer which led directly to our entire and inſtant expulſion from this part of the *Decan*.*" It is not important to enter farther on a ſubject ſo fully treated by Mr. *Dupleix*, Mr. *Moracin*, and Mr. *Buſſy*, in their memoires reſpecting this treaty, in which the *Engliſh* had as much more the advantage over *Godebeu*, as *Dupleix* had before over the *Engliſh*. It is however not by idle aſſertion that *Dupleix* expoſes the ignorance of his ſucceſſor; and it appears that the negociations of the two *European* Governors, for the firſt time, treated about territory without any reference to the native princes; an innovation Mr. *Buſſy*, in better times of the *Soubah*, would not have carried by his

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 154.

ability; for it appears that *Salabut Jung* was neither ignorant of the treaty nor of its conſequences, as appears in Mr. *Buſſy*'s letter of 15th October 1755. The *Nizam* repreſented againſt the determination to ſupport *Mahommed Ali*. "If they conſider him in *Europe* to be a prince who has a right to the *Carnatic*, it is an error in them, but it would be a folly in *Mahommed Ali*, of which I will not accuſe him, for on all occaſions he gives me no other name but maſter, and he ſolicits to be received in favour; in ſhort, he knows that he is no more than a gentleman, ſuch as you have ſeen his elder brother *Mazoufa Khan*, who deſerves to loſe his head for the troubles he has occaſioned; and yet, as you know, the ſtate of my affairs requires the aid of the *Europeans*; I cannot diſpenſe with them; I muſt either get the *Engliſh* in my intereſts, or you (Mr. *Buſſy*) muſt remain: hitherto I have been ſatisfied: are you at preſent without the inclination or the power to ſerve me? *"

In this delicate ſituation *Buſſy* was forced to act on his own judgement, contrary to the

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, page 164.

impracticable directions of *Godeheu.** He marched with *Salabut Jung* againſt the *Rajah* of *Myſore*, and had the addreſs to recover 52 lacks of tribute due to the *Nizam*, and eſſentially to ſerve the *Rajah*, an ally of *France*, by overawing *Balaje Row*, who had advanced toward *Myſore*, with an intention to invade it. At this period Mr. *Leyrit*, the new governor, arrived at *Pondicherry*; he entered into *Buſſy*'s plans, and wrote in July 1755, that he foreſaw the moment the *Engliſh* could deſtroy his footing with *Salabut Jung*, the *French* would be inferior to their rivals, who would not ſhew them the moderation which they now require from him, † and that the projected equality would in fact prove a decided ſuperiority. The ability of *Buſſy* confirmed to the *French* the *Circars*, which had been granted in 1753, and he took the neceſſary meaſures to render them a fund of reſource, to make his nation independant of the precarious ſupply of native allies, whoſe courts had lately been aſſailed by the intrigues of

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, page 165.

† Ibid, p. 171.

two powerful *European* rivals. At this period *Buſſy* had regained his influence and credit; he was connected with the *Grand Vizier*; had received very flattering letters from the *Mogul*, and his influence over the *Nizam* was as extenſive as the "timid diſpoſition of *Salabut Jung* * was capable of giving to any one." The influence of *Shaveneſe Khan*, miniſter of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, had at all times been adverſe to the *French* intereſt, and *Chundah Saheb* had reaſon to impute much of his early misfortunes to him. He had been uſeful to *Nazir Jung*, and continued to give life to the *Engliſh* intereſts, by urging *Nizam Ali* and *Bazalet Jung*, younger brothers of *Salabut Jung*, to uſurp the government during the abſence of *Buſſy*, in 1756, when he was arranging the internal government of the *Circars*. If the *French* detachment had not been at hand when the ſeals of ſtate were violently

* When *Buſſy* inveſted *Salabut Jung* with the dignity of *Soubah*, on the death of *Muzafa Jung*, he wrote to *Dupleix* in 1752, "Je vous dirai en confiance qu'il eſt bein facheux pour nous, d'avoir à ſoutenir un jeune homme auſſi foible & auſſi peureux que *Salabut Jung*. Mem. de la Compagnie, page 62.

taken from *Salabut Jung*, in all probability his life alſo would have been taken; the government became abſolutely in the hands of the uſurpers, but it was executed in the name of *Salabut Jung*.

The ability of *Buſſy* again ſaved the *Nizam*; he went to *Aurungabad** and in the face of *Nizam Ali* with the army from *Berar*, of *Bazalet Jung*, with the army from *Adoni*, and of *Balaje Row* in perſon, with an army of *Mahrattahs*, determined to take advantage of the confuſion, he reſtored *Salabut Jung*; got poſſeſſion of *Dolta ad*, the fortreſs of *Shavaneſe*, which the *Mahrattah* was deſirous to accept from either party as the price of his aſſiſtance, and effectually reſtored the old adminiſtration. † *Nizam Ali* procured the aſſaſſination of *Hyder Beg*, ‡ and fled to *Brampour* in May. The friends of *Hyder Beg* murdered *Shavaneſe Khan*, and his ſon *Mahomed*, *Duan* to the Emperor, and their adherents. *Sala-*

* *Orme*, Vol. II. page 341.
† Ibid. page 344.
‡ Ibid. page 348.

*but Jung* was ſcarcely re-eſtabliſhed, when M. *Conflans* brought a letter from *Lally* to Mr. *Buſſy*, dated the 10th May, announcing his recall.* With his uſual ability he conciliated *Bazalet Jung*, by promiſing him the government of *Hyderabad*; and obeyed the peremptory order of *Lally*, dated the 13th June, to repair to *Pondicherry* with all his forces, and to take Mr. *Moracin* in his way, who had the ſame orders, at *Maſſulipatam*; he delivered over his command to M. *Conflans*, and both he and *Salabut Jung* forboded the fatal conſequences.†

*Lally* had arrived from *France* with a reinforcement of regulars, and of money, which he deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the *French* Empire in *India*; with a ſuite of young nobility, he acquired a momentary *eclat* which ſuperſeded cautious policy; after taking Fort *St. Davids*, *Lally* ordered it to be razed to the ground. He wrote to *Buſſy* in the *Decan*, "when I ſhall be maſ-" ter of *Madras*, I ſhall go to the *Ganges*

* *Orme*, Vol. II. page 351

† Ibid. page 352.

" by land or ſea; my policy, in one word, " is, no *Engliſhman* in the peninſula of *India*." After the capture of Fort *St. Davids*, the attack of *Madras*, and the conqueſt of the *Nabob*'s country to the north, *Chittapitt* and *Vandiwaſh*, weak by the retreat of the *Engliſh* garriſons, did not eſcape the Governor *de Leyrit*. But the advice of *Lavaur*, a miſſionary, and deſire of acquiring a rapid ſupply of treaſure, determined *Lally* to proceed againſt *Tanjore*, under pretence of reſtoring *Gatica*, uncle to the depoſed King of *Tanjore*, whom the *Engliſh*, in conſideration of the ceſſion of *Devi Kotah*, had engaged to prevent from aſſerting his pretenſions againſt the uſurper. *Gatica* had been taken by *Lally* in Fort *St. Davids*.* The progreſs towards *Tanjore* and the unſucceſsful negociation for contribution, and diſgraceful retreat of the *French* army, after being foiled by the natives, and 40 *Europeans* detached by the *Engliſh* from *Trichinopoly*,† are ſufficiently known. *Lally*

* *Orme*, Vol. II page 318.

† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. ix. Eſſais hiſtoriques ſur l'*Inde*, M. de la *Flotte*, p. 41.

had begun a new plan of operation by the attack of *Trinomallee*, when *Buſſy* joined his army in September, 1758. The rank he held was only Lieutenant Colonel; *Lally* had brought from *France* one Brigadier General and ſix Colonels; the names of thoſe officers are recorded * for the public zeal which they ſhewed in ſigning a requeſt that *Buſſy* might ſuperſede them, and be appointed Brigadier General, to which *Lally* could not object, though he imputed the compliment to the influence of *Buſſy*'s money, inſtead of his reputation. When all the forces of the *French* had joined in November, they conſiſted of 4000 *Europeans*, and 3000 *Sepoys*. A ſmall ſupply of money brought by *Moracin* and ſome treaſure from *Mauritius* enabled *Lally* to proceed at laſt to the ſiege of *Madras*, and both parties were equally ſolicitous concerning the event of the expedition from *Bengal* into the *Northern Circars*, defended by *Conflans*.

*Vizeram Rauſe* had been ſelected by *Buſſy* as the moſt uſeful and acceptable man to

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 370.

act in the capacity of chief in the *Northern Circars*; he had been *Zemindar* of *Rajahmundrum* and *Cicacole*, and was ſucceeded in thoſe diſtricts by *Anunderauſe Gauze Petty*, who was diſſatisfied with the judicious arrangements of *Buſſy*; and when he ſaw him involved at *Aurungabad* by the animoſity of *Nizam Ali*, and recalled by *Lally*, he firſt ſent offers to *Madras* to aſſiſt in taking the four provinces from the *French*; * but that government could not ſpare any part of its force. He made the offer to the *Bengal* government, in July 1758, and all except *Clive* conſidered the offer to be chimerical. † He knew how to eſtimate the difference of being oppoſed to the experience of *Buſſy* and *Moracin*, or to the inexperience of *Conflans*; he detached Colonel *Ford*, who defeated *Conflans*, before the batteries of *Lally* had opened on the Fort of *St. George* at *Madras*; and *Buſſy* had not joined *Lally* in the *Carnatic* before *Nizam Ali* was again in arms againſt *Salabut Jung*, who depended only on the fortreſs and army

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 355.

† Ibid.

at *Daltabad*; but *Bazalut Jung* marched with his army from *Adoni*: they both concurred in thinking the opportunity favourable to reannex the provinces to the *Soubahſhip*. They marched towards *Maſſulipatam*, to take advantage of events in the conteſt between the *French* and *Engliſh*. Colonel *Ford* having driven *Conflans* into *Maſſulipatam*, received the news from *Madras*, the 6th of March, 1759, that *Lally* had loſt a third of his army by the fire of the *Engliſh*, by deſertion and ſickneſs, and had raiſed the ſiege on the appearance of a reinforcement from *Bombay**. Colonel *Ford*, with much gallantry and prudence, quelled a mutiny of his troops, and, notwithſtanding the deſertion of *Anunderauſe* and other renters who had joined the *Engliſh*, and obeyed the order of *Salabut Jung* to retire to their diſtricts, he ſent deputies to amuſe *Salabut Jung*, and to warn the renters of the dangers to which they expoſed themſelves; and carried the fort by aſſault, and took poſſeſſion of the town. *Salabut Jung* perceived, too

* Mem. Hiſt. ſur l'*Inde*, p. 47.

late, the conſequence of his delay: he conſulted with the *French* how to leſſen the misfortune, while *Rajah Anunderauſe* regained the *Goadaveri* by haſty marches, and in two days was out of the reach of purſuit *. Two months after, *Lally* retired from *Madras*; he detached Mr. *Moracin* with 500 *Europeans*, by ſea, to *Maſſulipatam*; but he arrived too late. *Salabut Jung* received Colonel *Ford* with attention, being alarmed by the application which *Clive* had made to *Nizam Ali* to favour the ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh* againſt the *French* in the *Circars* †. No treaty was formed; but Colonel *Ford* having forwarded the diſpatches, *Nizam Ali* advanced with his army toward *Hyderabad*, giving out that he intended to reform the adminiſtration; *Salabut* was in doubt whether the *French* or *Engliſh* would be moſt likely to aſſiſt him; and *Bazalut Jung* counteracted the negociations with Colonel *Ford*, being inclined to the *French*. It is certain that the *Nizam*, *Salabut Jung*, left the *Engliſh*, in diſguſt,

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 490.

† Ibid. p. 191.

in May 1759, in poſſeſſion of *Maſſulipatam*; and the *French* evacuated the *Circars*, on aſſurance, from *Bazalut Jung*, of being taken into his ſervice. The Preſidency of *Madras* appointed Mr. *Andrews*, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade; and Colonel *Ford* remained for inſtructions, from the Preſidency of *Bengal* *. . The conqueſt was made under *Clive*'s orders, the ceſſion of the country having been previouſly obtained from the *Mogul*, in perpetuity to the *Engliſh*.

*Lally* had left *Buſſy*, ill and diſguſted, at *Pondicherry*; the increaſing difficulties of the *French* called him forth to repair the conſequence of his recall from the *Decan*. *Salabut Jung*, conſidering the *French* intereſt deſperate, opened a negociation with *Nizam Ali*, and ſubmitted to the ſame dependance from which *Buſſy* had relieved him †. His brother, *Bazalut Jung*, *Duan* to *Salabut*, at the head of an army, would not aſſent to the arrangement, and joined

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 493.

† Ibid. p. 504.

the *French* under *Conflans*, and marched to levy contributions, and to deter the northern *Polygars* from giving any aſſiſtance to the *Engliſh*. *Lally* had divided his army after the raiſing the ſiege of *Madras*; one part was ſent to *Cheringham*, and the remainder was encamped at *Vandewaſh*: he ſent *Buſſy* to preſerve the co-operation of *Bazalut Jung* *; but ſuch was the want of money in the *Carnatic*, that the *French* army mutinied, three weeks after the firſt battle of *Vandewaſh*, in which the *French* had maintained their ground. The detachment ſent to eſcort *Buſſy* alſo mutinied; he therefore ſent back all except his white and black cavalry and two hundred volunteers, whom he paid, during their expedition, out of his private fortune: he proceeded to *Bazalut Jung* †, and returned in time to raiſe the ſiege of *Arcot*, which the *Engliſh* had formed, after their ſucceſs in October at *Vandewaſh*. The deciſive victory of the *Engliſh*, in January 1760, had been well conteſted: *Buſſy*, after hav-

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 533.

† Ibid. p. 547. His agreement with *Bazalut Jung*.

ing rallied his corps three times, was taken priſoner *, and, in conſideration of his generoſity to the *Engliſh* factory when he took *Vizagapatam*, the gallant *Coote* permitted him to repair to *Pondicherry* from the field of battle. *Buſſy* did not, even then, conſider the affairs of *France* as irretriveable; nevertheleſs, the beſt ability would have been perplexed what meaſure to purſue after the defeat. *Lally* perceived the ruinous ſeparation of his army, and the difficulty of uniting them; he recalled the ſouthern detachment; the neceſſity of treaſure to pay the army was preſent, and all prudential conſiderations gave way. He applied to the *European* renters of the *French* Company's diſtricts: the loſs of *Vandewaſh* and *Chittapitt* prevented their making advances; and the expedients of Governor *Leyrit* and the Council were not ſufficiently prompt in *Lally*'s opinion. He, therefore, took the whole of the Company's territory from the *European* renter, and accepted an advanced rent from *Rama Linga*, a *Malabar*, to whom he had farmed the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 596

diſtrict round *Arcot* while he poſſeſſed them; he farmed the whole at 1,750,000 rupees *per annum*: at the time of the agreement there was ſufficient grain on the ground for the moſt ample ſupply of *Pondicherry*; but money was more ſcarce than victuals *; and the new farmer was permitted to ſell his grain, that he might pay his rent in coin into the treaſury, inſtead of delivering grain, as his acquittal, into the magazines †. When the *Engliſh* army advanced between *Gingee* and *Pondicherry*, he could not but ſee his error then, irretrievable.

In this ſtage of diſtreſs, *Hyder Ally* opened his career as a Sovereign; advanced from a ſoldier to the command of the *Myſorean* army, he had taken the *Myſorean* King out of the hands of *Delaway*, his uncle, who had agreed to retire to the fort of *Myſore* with a *Jagheer*. *Hyder* thus uncontrolled, uſurped the adminiſtration from the King, a young, a weak, and timid

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 602

† Ibid. p. 636.

prince; and to guard againſt a reverſe, *Hyder* conveyed his treaſure to *Thiagur*, a ſtrong fortreſs in the *Carnatic*; and by means of *Morognha*, a *Portugueſe* miſſionary, *Biſhop* of *Halicarnaſſus*, he at this period negociated with the *French*, in conſideration of that and another fort, and 100,000 rupees a month, to ſend 2000 cavalry and 3000 ſepoys with artillery into the *Carnatic*; this diverſion increaſed the calamity of the country, without recovering the fortune of *Lally*. The *Chriſtian Biſhop* with the *Mahrattahs*, though they did not fight, plundered all the villages dependant on the *French*, when *Lally* retreated to *Pondicherry* *; in January 1761, that beautiful ſettlement was ſurrendered to the *Britiſh* arms. *Pigot* and *Dupré* paſſed the night, previous to the ſurrender, in the trenches with *Coote* and his principal officers. The 16th of January, the *French* line, conſiſting of 1100 men, depoſited their arms, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, and diſeaſe; and there was only proviſion for two days ſhort allowance left.

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*.

The black inhabitants had been turned out of *Pondicherry*, in November, to the amount of 1400, whom the humanity of *Coote* permitted, to pass, emaciated by famine. "The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse), to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own *."

The Company's Governor, *Pigot*, insisted on *Pondicherry* being given up to the Company by virtue of the patent of January 1758, which regulates the Company's shared title to captures, and declared if it was not given up the Company would not advance any more money. Neither the Admiral nor Commander of the King's troops were authorised to draw bills on the Government of *England* on such an exigency; the council of war, therefore, submitted to the requisition, but protested against the insult it conveyed against the King's prerogative, and declared the Presidency responsible for the consequences †.

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 723.

† Ibid. p. 724.

The 5th of April, 1761, terminated the long-conteſted hoſtilities between the two rival *European* powers in *Coromandel*, and left not a ſingle enſign of the *French* nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of *India*, for the troops which had gone away to *Myſore* were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers ſeeking fortune and ſubſiſtence. Mr. *Pigot*, to obſtruct the re-eſtabliſhment of the *French* power by a general peace, ordered the total demolition of the town and fortifications of *Pondicherry*, for which *Lally*, by razing fort *St. Davids*, had given a precedent.

Circumſtances were not wanting to aggravate the prejudices againſt the unfortunate *Lally*; his contempt of the Company's ſervants, and his ignorance of the uſages of *India*, led him into many difficulties; the acknowledged talents of *Buſſy* excited his envy; the intrigues of intereſted miſſionaries ſurrounded him. *Lavaur*, a Jeſuit, who urged his attack on *Tanjore*, and had been one of the deputies ſent to capitulate, had compoſed two memoirs, one

to juſtify, and another to defame *Lally*'s conduct; they were found among his papers by the officers of juſtice after his return to *France*. He had ſolicited a penſion of £.20 a year, pretending he had been ruined at *Pondicherry*, and when he died, property to the value of £.60,000 ſterling was found in his room *. The bankruptcy of three million of *livres* which *Valitte*, ſuperior of the *Weſt-Indian* miſſion, had brought on, at this time † opened the eyes of a few, and ſtrengthened the prejudices of many. Of the many charges againſt *Lally*, "no one particular crime, but the general tenor of his conduct, decided the judgement." The judge who explained the arrêt ‡, after it was executed, had opportunity to know that the fortune of *Lally* did not pay the amount allotted by it to the poor of *Pondicherry*; the King's bounty was known to have relieved the diſtreſſes of his family; the teſtimony of the *Engliſh* acquit him of every charge

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde* & *Lalli*, p. 137.
† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 735.
‡ Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*, p. 153.

affecting his true allegiance to his King or his perſonal courage.

The *Engliſh* had always kept clear of the intrigues of miſſionaries; when *Chandernagore* was taken from the *French* by *Clive*, in 1757, much intereſt was made to leave the *Jeſuits* there; he anſwered, "the *Jeſuits* may go where they pleaſe except to the *Engliſh* ſettlements *."—The critical ſituation of *Europeans* in *India* at this period, require a few words on the tranſactions in *Bengal*.

Some months after the arrival of Governor *Leyrit*, in 1755, the intereſts of *France* appeared to revive by the ability of *Buſſy*. The death of *Ali Verdi Khan*, in April, 1756, put *Serajah Dowlah* in poſſeſſion of the *Soubahdarry* of *Bengal*, agreeable to the will of his grandfather, who had obliged his officers to do him homage as *Soubah* independant of the *Mogul*. The new *Nabob* had taken *Calcutta* in June, 1756, and the Governor and all the fac-

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*, p. 89.

tory who eſcaped the Black Hole were on board the ſhips in the river*. In October, 1756, Colonel *Clive* was ſent with about 2,000 land forces on board Admiral *Watſon*'s fleet to *Calcutta*; he was inveſted by the Preſidency of *Madras* with independant power in all military matters and operations, and authoriſed to draw bills. The Court of Directors had appointed Mr. *Drake*, with three Members of the Council, to act as a Select Committee in the conduct of all political and military affairs†; the Committee had aſſociated Major *Kirkpatrick*, and they added Mr. *Watſon* and Colonel *Clive* to their Board. The ſucceſſes of *Clive* terminated the reign of *Serajah Dowlah* by the battle of *Plaſſey*, 26th of June, 1757‡, the correſpondance of *Buſſy* and *Law* with *Serajah Dowlah* fell into his hands, and the conduct of a counteraction of the progreſs of the *French* in the *Decan* and in the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 88.

† Ibid. p. 121.

‡ Reports, Vol. I. p. 16. Lord *Clive*'s account to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons.

*Circars*, devolved excluſively on him, the Preſidency of *Madras* being unable to detach any force to that quarter. The Company's arrangements, in conſequence of the loſs of *Calcutta*, were received there in June 1758: the firſt arrangement of the Directors after receiving the bad news, had been, the appointment of a temporary Committee of five perſons to manage their affairs in *Bengal*, in which *Clive* was to preſide; but in *November* they determined to diſmiſs Mr. *Drake* from the government, and nominated a Council of ten, in which the four ſenior Members were to preſide alternately, each for three months; in this ſucceſſion of the four, Mr. *Watts* ſtood the firſt; the others were Mr. *Manningham*, Mr. *Beecher*, and Mr. *Holwell*, who were not yet returned from *England*, and Colonel *Clive* was not included in the new arrangement. The three leading Members in the Council were impreſſed with the difficulty of the public affairs, and propoſed to the reſt that *Clive* ſhould be requeſted to accept of the Government under the uſual modes; the vote was una-

nimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June *.

Thus we ſee the intereſt of the Company, and of *Great Britain*, was veſted, contrary to the arrangement of the Company, in the hands of *Clive*; and it is remarkable, that the ſame honourable and patriotic ſpirit had raiſed *Buſſy*, near the ſame time, to a rank which the councils of *France* had not allotted to him. Thoſe who review the proceedings in *Bengal* at the period of the revolution, ſhould remember the circumſtances of the Company at the period of the fall of fort *St. David*; and thoſe who conſider the character of *Buſſy*, ſhould remember that the honourable teſtimony of the field officers who came with *Lally* from *France* could give him no more than the ſtation of third in command, and that their teſtimony rather ſtrengthened than weakened the jealouſy of *Lally*.

The peace in 1763 did not prove that

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 355.

the negociators had acquired a perfect knowledge of *India*; but it was fortunate that the ſubject was not left to the protracted negociations of the two companies*. Lord *Clive* expreſſed himſelf in theſe words to the Proprietors †:

" I flatter myſelf every proprietor muſt reflect with infinite pleaſure on the benefit of theſe great and glorious ſucceſſes, now ſecured to them by the eleventh article of the definitive treaty.

" Although there are ſome geographical errors, ſuch as making the *Soubah* of *Bengal*'s dominion extend near 200 miles more than they do, to *Yanam*, and making that place the *northern* inſtead of the moſt ſouthern part of the coaſt of *Orixa*; the acknowledging *Salabut Jung lawful Soubah* of the *Decan*, and *Mahomed Ali Cawn lawful Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, had been better omitted, for ſeveral reaſons, and

* Mr. *Ruſſell* ſtates that the affairs of *India* had eſcaped notice till ſome time after the preliminaries were ſigned. Short Hiſtory, p. 66.

† *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 10.

may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two companies; yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the Company.

"As my opposition originally arose from the defects of the preliminary articles, in which the interest of the *East-India* Company appeared to me to be much exposed, it affords me a very particular pleasure to think I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company."

Mr. *Russell* has not taken notice of this article of the treaty of *Paris*; he begins his account of the acquisition of the *Circars* *, "The *new Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the government from the grant of the *Mogul*," and we might suppose he had continued from that time the legal *Soubah*. I have included in the above abstract the real pretensions of the many natives whom different interests or parties denominate differently; I have also traced

* Short History, 2d edit. p. 65.

the brilliant ſpeculations of *France* to their cloſe. It was proved that the different *French* adminiſtrations, from 1727 to 1769, had furniſhed to the Company *three hundred and ſeventy-ſix millions of livres*, without its having ever paid the intereſt of its capital from the profits of its commerce, which however was made up by *nine millions of livres* annually allowed to the Company out of the *Ferme des Tabacs* *.

I have entered more at length into the projects of Governor *Dupleix* and Monſ. *Buſſy* to recall the memory of the circumſtances of *India* during the real period of conteſt. The deep perſevering policy of the *French* cabinet maintained the conteſt after the victory had been decided in the favour of *Great Britain*: the ability of *Hyder Ally* favoured their projects, and no expence was ſpared to rebuild and fortify *Pondicherry*; but being unwilling to leave all their magazines and force cooped up in one fortreſs in the peninſula of *India*, in which the *Engliſh* could take the field with

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*.

with infinite advantages, the iſles of *France* and *Bourbon* became depots of armies and ſtores, from whence they might ſend their ſuccour either to the coaſt of *Malabar* or of *Coromandel*, as the circumſtances might require. A corps of *French* ſerved conſtantly with *Hyder*; *French* engineers enabled him to render his fortreſſes more reſpectable. *Hyder* was allowed to be a good judge of the ground for action; his diſpoſition for making or for receiving attacks were admired; his infantry were regimented, but never could reſiſt the *Engliſh* ſepoys; his artillery was numerous; the pieces he brought into the field were of very great calibres, and chiefly worked by *Europeans*; he unlimbered his guns behind ravines, or on ground which would permit him to draw them off at pleaſure; he could throw his heavy ſhot over the *Engliſh* army before the *Engliſh* light train were within diſtance to open upon his line; when it advanced, *Hyder* limbered up, and his cannon were drawn off by elephants and excellent oxen; large bodies of cavalry covered their retreat, in ſuch number, that it retarded our line until the

purſuit of the guns was ineffectual. He taxed every thing, even plunder; by the management of his *Bazars*, the money he paid to his troops reverted to his treaſury, and when money has been ſcarce, he has been known to make his troops receive men and women priſoners taken in the *Carnatic* at his own valuation, who were ſent into *Myſore* to cultivate the lands; he would not eſtabliſh a cartel; and when large corps of cavalry have charged our line they have been generally intoxicated; whenever they have ſucceeded, the fate of the defeated has been horrid. The inſtruction and aid which *Hyder* acquired from the *French* ſince 1763 was politically employed by him to his own aggrandiſement; his various uſurpations and conqueſts united the *Bedenore* and *Zamorines* countries to *Myſore*; and there is no doubt but *Hyder* expected to extirpate the *Engliſh* by the aid of the *French*. In 1782 the agents of *France* had promiſed a powerful ſquadron and 10,000 *Europeans*. He employed the *Europeans* in his armies with much ability, keeping them in complete dependance; and the object of *France* was

attained by making him more formidable to the *Engliſh*. His diſſatisfaction at being ſo feebly ſupported when he invaded the *Carnatic*, notwithſtanding the efforts of the *French* at that period were extraordinary, and at a vaſt expence, made him anxious to complete the conqueſt of the *Malabar* coaſt; and previous to his laſt attack on the *Travancore* country, he had ſent embaſſies to the *Porte* and to *France*, to give greater luſtre to his projected empire.

It will not admit of diſpute, that the *Britiſh* force, by ſea and land, at the cloſe of the war in 1783, was ſuperior to the *French*; and that by miſmanagement alone the barbarity and indignity offered by *Tippoo* to the *Engliſh* paſſed unrevenged at that period: the preliminaries of peace came opportunely for all parties, from the critical ſituation in which they had nearly averaged themſelves. Meſſrs. *Sadlier* and *Staunton* brought accounts to *Cuddalore* of the concluſion of peace between *England* and *France*, and orders for a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The Marquis de *Buſſy*, who commanded both the land and ſea forces

of *France*, without heſitation accepted the notification as authentic; he ſaw the object for which he had left *France*, more favourably arranged by the cabinets in *Europe* for the benefit of his countrymen, than he could have any reaſonable hope to have accompliſhed by the continuance of hoſtilities; he was aware of the diſtraction of our councils in *India*, and he knew his experience in negociating with the native powers might be important in ſettling the conſtruction of the ſixteenth article of the preliminaries, which regarded the *Indian* powers. With much deciſion he ſent word to the *Engliſh* General, that the *Myſoreans* were in alliance with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; that the detachment at *Cuddalore* was part of his army, and muſt be included in the ceſſation of hoſtilities; that in purſuance to the deſire of the Deputies, he had forwarded their letters to the *Engliſh* commanders of detachments, and to *Tippoo*; but in caſe he declined to accept the pacification, *Buſſy* aſſured them he would deſiſt from aſſiſting him, even before the four months expired. *Tippoo* received the news with great diſpleaſure,

but ſent his *Vakeels* to *Cuddalore* to negociate with us through M. de *Buſſy*; Sir *Edward Hughes* and General *Stuart* proteſted againſt treating any farther through the medium of the *French* commander in chief, without the order of the Supreme Board; thus was Monſ. de *Buſſy* left to manage the *French* intereſts diſtinctly, and the hoſtilities of the detached forces againſt *Tippoo* were ſuſpended until it was known whether he would accede to the peace.

Enriched, and grown inſolent by the event of the war, *Tippoo* eſtabliſhed order in his extenſive dominions; his revenue regulations will juſtify the reputation of his ability and good ſyſtem; his perſecution of the *Nairs* in the year 1784, for having aſſiſted the *Engliſh*, was preparatory to his favourite object; a diſpute with the *Mahrattahs* in 1785 delayed its execution, and in 1786 he concluded one of his moſt brilliant campaigns againſt the united force of the *Nizam* and the *Mahrattahs*, by a peace favourable to his intereſt, and he became ſecure in his northern frontier. *Tippoo*, encouraged by the paſſive

policy in the commencement of the Marquis *Cornwallis*'s government, and by the unjuſtified conduct of the Governor of *Madras*, became emboldened to make an open attack on the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, the faithful ally of the *Engliſh*. Every inſult having proved ineffectual to make them the aggreſſors, *Tippoo* entered the eaſtern extremity of the lines with 16,000 of his beſt troops; he obtained poſſeſſion of about three miles, when he ſuffered that memorable repulſe which coſt him the flower of his army on the 29th of December. Three battalions, all *Nairs*, and 500 archers, in all 3,000 men, ſtimulated by the cauſe of their country and of their religion, were crowned with victory.

The politic and honourable ſupport which Lord *Cornwallis* inſtantly gave to the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, in fact, ſaved the *Hindoos*; thoſe who had conſidered and knew the circumſtances of the peninſula of *India*, heard the comments of ſome great ſtateſmen in *England* with concern. The power of *Great Britain* has been ſhewn under Lord *Cornwallis*, and the confidence of the

*Hindoos* may be confirmed, and the defence of the *Carnatic* become more certain and leſs expenſive, if proper ſteps are taken to connect the *Hindoos* of the peninſula in a general defenſive alliance.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *On the military Eſtabliſhments and Service in* India.

WHEN Lord *Clive* returned to *India*, in 1765, the fate of *Britiſh India* again reſted on his deciſion; he wrote, in April, from *Madras*, to one of the Directors *, "We have at laſt arrived at that critical period, which I have long foreſeen; I mean that period which renders it neceſſary for us to determine whether we can, or ſhall, take the whole to ourſelves. *Sujah Dowla* is beat from his dominion; we are in poſ-

* Appendix to the *Eaſt-India* Report, Vol. I. No. 82.

ſeſſion of it, and it is ſcarcely hyperbole to ſay, to-morrow the whole *Mogul* Empire will be in our power: a large army of *Europeans* will effectually preſerve us ſovereigns. You will, I am ſure, imagine, with me, that after the length we have run, the Princes of *Hindoſtan* muſt conclude our views to be boundleſs; they have ſeen ſuch inſtances of our ambition, that they cannot ſuppoſe us capable of moderation; the very *Nabobs* whom we might ſupport would be either covetous of our poſſeſſions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to deſtroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us; for the dethroning of the firſt *Nabob* would be followed by ſetting up another. We muſt, indeed, become *Nabobs* ourſelves, in fact, if not in name; perhaps ſo totally without diſguiſe: but on this ſubject I cannot be certain until my arrival in *Bengal*. Let us, without delay, complete our *three European* regiments, to 1000 each; theſe, with 500 light cavalry, *three* or *four* regiments of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible: in ſhort, if riches and

ſecurity are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method now, for ſecuring them."

When Lord *Clive* aſſumed the government, on his arrival in *Bengal*, in May 1765, he addreſſed the committee *; "the ſucceſs of the forces, which I had the honor to command in the year 1757, completed a revolution in favor of *Meer Jaffier*, an event on which the exiſtence of the *Eaſt-India* Company at that time depended; the treaty concluded with him was productive of large advantages to the *nation*, as well as to *individuals*, and ſeemed to inſure the Company greater benefits than they had ever before enjoyed.

"My ſucceſſors ſoon after my departure thought proper to raiſe *Coſſim Ali Khan* to the *Soubahſhip*, the conſequences of which, whatever was the cauſe, had been unfortunate.

"A very few days are elapſed ſince our arrival; and yet, if we conſider what has

* Report, Vol. 1. Append. N. 84.

already come to our knowledge, we cannot heſitate a moment on the neceſſity of aſſuming the power that is in us, of conducting, as a ſelect committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this ſettlement. What do we hear of, what do we ſee, but anarchy, confuſion, and, what is worſe, an almoſt general corruption?"

In the preceding review of the different periods of *Britiſh* Government, I endeavoured to aſcertain the principles of the civil adminiſtration. It will be neceſſary to advert curſorily to the advantages which Lord *Clive* refers to, excluſive of the revenues, conſiſting of treaſure exacted on different accounts, of which the principal head was diſtinguiſhed as *reſtitution*, or money paid to the Company for damages, by the capture of *Calcutta*, and for expences incurred by the war *:

| | |
|---|---|
| By *Meer Jaffier*, in 1757 | 1,200,000 |
| By *Meer Coſſim*, in 1760 | 62,500 |

* General ſtate atteſted by auditor of *India* accounts. Report of Committee of Secrecy. Append. N. 10.

| | |
|---|---|
| By *Meer Jaffier*, on his reſtoration, in 1763 | 375,000 |
| By *Sujah Dowlah*, on making peace, in 1765 | 583,333 |
| | £. 2,220,833 |

In the ſame period, individuals received from the princes and natives of *Bengal*:

| | |
|---|---|
| On depoſing *Serajah Dowlah*, and advancing *Meer Jaffier* to the Government, in 1757. | 1,238,575 |
| On depoſing *Meer Jaffier*, in favour of *Coſſim*, in 1760 | 200,269 |
| On reſtoring *Meer Jaffier*, in 1763 | 437,499 |
| Preſent received by two commanders of the army | 62,666 |
| On the acceſſion of *Najim Ul Dowlah*, *Meer Jaffier*'s ſon, in 1765 | 139,357 |
| Received of the King, Queen, Mother, and one of the Princes, in 1765, and 1766 | 90,999 |
| Received of *Meer Jaffier*, in 1757 | 600,000 |

Received of *Meer Jaffier* again,
in 1763 600,000

£. 3,369,365

Excluſive of Lord *Clive*'s *Jageer* *.

It might be ſuppoſed that this ſupply of ready money had anſwered the extraordinary charges of a change of ſyſtem, and that the revenues would have defrayed the current charges of the new eſtabliſhments. If we did not recollect, that the provinces of *Bengal* were not the only charges on the Company. When *Clive* left *Madras*, to complete the revolution, in 1757, the Company found themſelves ſo reduced and exhauſted by the continued drains from the commencement of the troubles on the *coaſt*, in 1746, that they had been obliged to deſiſt from ſending the *uſual* ſupplies of money to their ſettlements abroad, excepting only ſome inadequate conſignments of ſilver to *China* †. *Madras* and *Bengal* were

* Account annexed to the Report of the Committee. Short Hiſtory of the revolution in *Bengal*, page 133.

† *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8. 1767.

enjoined to give all poſſible aſſiſtance to that important trade, at the ſame time to provide for their own military and civil charges, and the purchaſe of inveſtment or cargoes for their ſhips, and likewiſe to ſupply the ſettlement of *Bombay* with what money might be wanted there.

The *Engliſh* certainly had a preferable claim to full participation of reſtitution money; but the *natives* only received $\frac{1}{10}$ and a quarter of a ſixteenth, or $\frac{41}{64}$ of the amount of their loſſes: the *Armenians* received their bare principal; and the *Engliſh* received their full principal, with 20 *per cent.* intereſt, and an overplus of 50 lacks remained in the Company's treaſury; the *Engliſh* inhabitants, notwithſtanding ſuch receipt, ſued the Company in chancery for the overplus *. It has been objected to *Clive*, that he neglected, or did not underſtand, the intereſt of the Company, in not obtaining a larger revenue, independant of the reſtitution money †. The difficulty of

* *Vanſittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 109.
† Ibid. p. 68.

obtaining an extenſion to the north of *Calcutta* was ſtated by Lord *Clive*; it was obtained from *Meer Jaffier*, by lending him 25 lacks; and when it is conſidered that *Meer Jaffier*, at the battle of *Plaſſey*, acted preciſely in the manner which beſt ſuited his intereſt; that *Clive* had alſo engagements with *Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of *Patna*, and alſo with *Omarbeg*, the *Fougedar* of *Houghly*, their ſeparate intereſts reſted on the perſonal authority of Lord *Clive*. His influence over *Meer Jaffier* was certainly great; but when *Clive* left the Government to gentlemen, who plainly declared their opinion, that the dependance on a *Nabob* would be more ruinous than if the Company became *Nabob*, the conſequences of univerſal miſtruſt were inevitable. *Clive* had ſeen the neceſſity of vigor to counteract the *Dutch*, whoſe letters to *Meer Jaffier* afterwards fell into our hands *; and it appears he had agreed "that the *Dutch* ſhould bring into the province a military force to join his, and curb a power which was repreſented as dangerous:" and the *Dutch* chief, without the

* Appendix to the *Engliſh* Memorial, No. 6.

leaſt reſerve, puts *Meer Jaffier* in mind of this agreement in one of the letters before mentioned *. The Court of Directors, in 1760, inſtructed Mr. *Vanſittart* not to protect natives, merely to enable them to defraud their maſter; on the principle, that they are always bad ſubjects who apply for foreign protection; as ſoon as they are aſſured of it, they keep no longer within bounds of reſpect; and their own ruin and their maſter's becomes the immediate conſequence. Orders to this effect were iſſued in September, 1761, by the Governor and Council †, "declaring it to be contrary to engagements between the *Nabob* and the Company to interfere in the ſupport of any *Zemindar*, or other perſon holding office, grant, or authority, under the government;" and thereby thoſe whoſe ſafety had been *guaranteed*, were abandoned to their fate.

When Mr. *Vanſittart* arrived in *India*, the King's and Company's troops were ad-

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 34.
† *Vanſitt.* Narr. Vol. I. p. 92.

vancing towards *Pondicherry*. When he reached *Bengal* he found one ſingle lack of *rupees* in the treaſury *, and an arrear of 23 lacks, due by *Meer Jaffier*, which Governor *Holwell* deſpaired of realiſing immediately. The neceſſity of affairs obliged the ſelect committee to deliberate; and the change of *Meer Jaffier*'s miniſters, and a participation of his revenues were reſolved on, and the monthly payment of one lack having been precarious, the participation of the Company was to be commuted for the ſole right to certain diſtricts †; In ſhort, it was deemed indiſpenſable to do in *Bengal*, what *Buſſy* had found to be indiſpenſable, when he obtained the abſolute grant of the *Circars*. Mr. *Vanſittart* deſcribes the neceſſity to have ariſen from the change of our relation to *India*: "before the capture of *Calcutta*, 200 or 250 ſoldiers compoſed the whole force of *Bengal*: without ſeapoys, without artillery, camp equipage, without field allowances, without fortifications, and an innumerable train

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 15.

† Ibid. page 16.

of incidental articles *." When *Clive* left *Bengal*, after the revolution, the number of men will be found to be increaſed forty fold and the other concurrent expences in a much greater proportion: a fortification fit to command an empire ſucceeded to the old fort, or factory, at *Calcutta*; and an alliance made with the *Nabob* of the provinces, by which the Company became his protectors, and the ſole defenders of his country, inſtead of being a factory of merchants trading under his permiſſion and good pleaſure †.

To bring this plan into effect, *Meer Coſſim* was promiſed the confirmation of the appointment of the *Neabut*, to which *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, had deſtined him ‡, and the ſucceſſion to the government after *Meer Jaffier*'s death. He on his part engaged to procure us from the *Nabob* a grant of the diſtricts of *Burdwan*, *Mid-*

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, page 20.
† Ibid. p. 21. *Scrafton* Sketch, p. 125 and 126.
‡ *Vanſitt.* Narrative, Vol. I. p. 41 and 74.

*napore*, and *Chittagong*, computed to produce £. 600,000 *per annum* *. It was imagined this revenue would enable the Company to defray its expences, and the *Nabob* might be permitted to enjoy the remainder. The failure of these hopes have been more than once related; and at the restoration of *Meer Jaffier*, Mr. *Vansittart*, and Mr. *Hastings* were the only members of council who stood forth in protecting the natives, by proposing to establish a bare equality in the inland trade; and the majority prevailed in maintaining that the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund* established the right to inland as well as to foreign trade, *custom free* †, contrary to the wise and politic restrictions of *Nabob Jaffier*, in 1717, when the original patents, addressed to him by the *Mogul*, as *Nabob* of the provinces, were defined, and carried into effect.

The force in 1756 was, according to the highest calculation, in *Bengal*, 250 soldiers. When *Clive* left *Bengal*, Mr. *Scrafton* states

* *Vansittart*'s Letter, page 24.

† Vide *Orme*, Vol. II. page 25.

the force in *Bengal* to have been 1200 *Europeans* and 7500 ſepoys; together, 8700*. Mr. *Vanſittart* reckons the whole, after the return of Colonel *Ford*'s detachment from the *Decan*, to be in the whole 8000†. In 1761 and 1762, Mr. *Vanſittart*, on the neceſſity of keeping a larger force at *Patna*, and to aſſiſt the preſidency of *Madras* with a body of ſepoys for the expedition to *Manilla*, the army was a little increaſed. In 1763 when the war with *Meer Geſſim* broke out, the army in *Bengal* conſiſted of 1320 *Europeans*, and 8900 ſepoys; together 10,220‡. In 1764, the year of the battle of *Buxar*, when *Sujah Dowlah* had invaded the province with all his force, in the name and with the preſence of the *Mogul*, the *Engliſh* forces had been conſiderably augmented; an army of 15,000 men compoſed the whole force of *Bengal*, for the protection of both ſides the *Ganges*, garriſons to the forts of *Mongheer* and *Patna*, for ſecuring the *paſſes*, and guarding

* *Scraf'on*'s Pamphlet, page 47.

† *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 95.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

the frontiers of *Burdwan* and *Midnapore*, to which ſervices *Meer Jaffier* was unable to contribute. The army of Colonel *Munro*, at the battle which again eſtabliſhed the decided ſuperiority of the *Engliſh* in the provinces, conſiſted of 1,062 *European* infantry, cavalry, and artillery, 1,002 black cavalry, and 5,806 ſepoys, together 7,870, including officers.

The charges of the eſtabliſhment of the 8,000 men which Lord *Clive* left in 1760 was 830,000 rupees a month, or £.103,750, or £.1,245,000 per annum.

The charges of the army in 1764, conſiſting of 15,000 men, oppoſed to the expected receipts, were,

| | Lacks. | Rupees. |
|---|---|---|
| Per month, - - - - - - | 2 | 50000 |
| Monthly ſum which *Meer Jaffier* agreed to pay while the war laſted - - - | 5 | 00000 |
| £.45,000 per month of the Company's capital - - | 3 | 60000 |

And before we come to the capital, we muſt of courſe

| | Lacks. | Rupees. |
|---|---|---|
| reckon the revenue which the Company poſſeſſed in *Bengal* - - - - - - | 4 | 50000 |
| or £.195,000. | | |
| Total monthly expence, | 15 | 60000 |

The annual charges of the army in 1764 - - - £.2,340,000

Mr. *Vanſittart* ſtates that, in 1767, the military eſtabliſhment conſiſted of above 20,000 men, and would come to a monthly expence of 20,80000 rupees, or £.260,000 per month, or £.3,120,000 per annum, which he ſuppoſes to be nearly equal to the whole produce of the revenue, without leaving any thing to make good what we have engaged to pay to the *Mogul* and to the *Nabob* *.

It cannot be doubted that Lord *Clive* weighed the whole of the circumſtances on his arrival in 1765; from whatever

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter the Proprietors, 1767, p. 102.

cauſes his former arrangement had failed, he landed at *Calcutta* with an impreſſion of the neceſſity of taking the whole revenues into the Company's hands; for previous to his departure after the revolution, he had obliged the *Nabob* to mortgage the revenues of the three diſtricts as ſecurity for payment of the reſtitution and public money*. His arrangement of 1757 had ſtrengthened the fortifications and eſtabliſhed an *Engliſh* force adequate to the ſubſidy; the whole force which he conſidered neceſſary in 1765 as a permanent eſtabliſhment was, 3,000 *European* infantry, 500 cavalry, and four regiments of artillery, excluſive of the native force *Meer Jaffier* had ſtipulated to main ain when he was reſtored, which was 12,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry: but neither *Meer Coſſim* nor *Meer Jaffier* could poſſibly have maintained that force, when the interference of the Company's ſervants, by their privileges, not only engroſſed the trade, but the revenues.

During the year 1764, Mr. *Vanſittart*

* *Vanſittart's* Letter, p. 61.

eſtimated, from the Commiſſary General's accounts of camp expences, their monthly amount to be between four and five lacks of rupees; but on account of the Company's charges in providing military ſupplies in *Europe*, and by the military ſtore-keeper in *Bengal*, he found it neceſſary to ſtate the rough eſtimate of the whole to *Meer Jaffier* as amounting nearly to 7 lacks, and to urge the juſtice of his bearing a large proportion for the general defence of the provinces; and it was inſiſted that he ſhould pay the Company five *lacks* per month as long as the proſecution of the war with *Sujah Dowlah* required the augmentation of the military eſtabliſhments *. This ſum being added to the revenue of the diſtricts obtained from *Meer Coſſim*, enabled Mr. *Vanſittart* to give aid to the commercial concerns of the Company, but with the farther addition of a loan at eight *per cent.*, to remit ten lacks to *China*, in November, which the exigency of the army prevented being ſent in the early part of the ſeaſon: ſuch was the ſituation

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 106.

of the Company when Lord *Clive* landed in *Bengal* in 1765.

Mr. *Bruce* has ſtated the amount of the army in *India* in 1782, and has remarked generally on the improvements introduced by Lord *Clive* when he modelled the ſepoy corps, and blended it with the *European* army regularly officered by *Cadets* from *Europe**.

The *Bengal* eſtabliſhment during that war conſiſted of a corps of engineers, three regiments of artillery, including officers — — — 3,531

Thirty-ſix regiments of native infantry, and one light infantry, conſiſting of 481 *European* officers and 38,850 natives — — 39,331

Four regiments of cavalry, 72 *European*, and 2,136 natives — 2,208

45,070

* Plans for *India*, p. 505.

Some battalions of irregulars and militia, and the Governor's body guard, raiſed the total amount on the *Bengal* war eſtabliſhment in 1782 to 938 officers, 4,446 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, *Europeans*; with 49,390 natives; in all, 54,774 men.

The *Madras* eſtabliſhment conſiſted of one battalion of *European* artillery with officers, excluſive of *Laſcars* — 866

*European* engineer officers — 14

Two regiments of *European* infantry, with officers — — 1201

One troop of cavalry, with three officers — — — 61

Twenty-nine battalions of native infantry, 11 officers, 87 non-commiſſioned officers, *Europeans*, with 908 natives each; one battalion of light infantry, native, with *European* officers — Total *Europeans* 540

Natives 27140

The irregular troops, militia, *Sibbendy* corps, increaſed the *Madras* eſtabliſhment to 596 officers, 3,494 non-commiſſioned and private *Europeans*, and 37,085 natives, which, with four regiments of the *Nabob*'s cavalry, taken into the Company's pay, and one battalion of native infantry, is the whole force ſtated by Mr. *Bruce* as conſtituting the *Madras* eſtabliſhment in 1782.

The *Bombay* eſtabliſhment in 1782 amounted to 243 officers, 2,040 non-commiſſioned and private *Europeans*, and 14,396 natives.

"The whole of the Company's military eſtabliſhment then, at the concluſion of this war, was 112,628 men; to which, if His Majeſty's troops then ſerving in *India* (ten regiments of *Britiſh* and two *Hanoverian*) ſhall be added, the whole of the *Britiſh* force ſerving in *India* may be calculated at 124,000 men," (of which above 23,000 were *Europeans*) "on their full eſtabliſhment. The expences of ſupporting ſuch a force were calculated at £.2,732,196; but if an allowance ſhall be made for batta,

or double pay given to the troops in the field, with charges for the King's troops, the military expences in 1782–3, from the accounts laid before Parliament, will appear to have amounted to £.4,000,000 per annum *. Having adopted the official ſtatement of Mr. *Bruce*, of the eſtabliſhment, calculation, and actual amount of charges of the army in 1782–3, I am able alſo to ſtate the effective ſtrength in the laſt year of the war, having before me a return of December, 1782, which is as follows:

| | | Europ. Artil. | Europ. Infant. | Sepoys. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Company's Troops | *Bengal* — — | 761 | 1,674 | 47,005 |
| | *Fort St. George* — | 548 | 1,079 | 42,134 |
| | *Bombay* — — | 386 | 862 | 13,094 |
| | | 1,695 | 3,615 | 102,233 |

N. B. The non-commiſſioned officers are included in the *European*, and the native officers in the ſepoys' ſtrength: cavalry is not included, nor *European* or native invalids, penſioners, or laſcars. Caſualties muſt have diminiſhed the number at the

* Plans for *India*, p. 509.

period of the following abſtract return of His Majeſty's troops in *India* under the command of Major General *Stuart*, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1783.

3 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 11 Majors, 59 Captains, 146 Lieutenants, 53 Enſigns, 2 Chaplains, 12 Adjutants, 14 Quarter Maſters, 47 Surgeons, 11 Mates, 5,555 rank and file. The King's troops at that time were much ſeparated, ſome in the *Carnatic* army, others at *Fort St. George*, at *St. Thomé* and *Poonomallee*, at the *Mount*, in the *Northern Circars*, on the *Malabar* coaſt, in *Bengal*, ſome taken in Colonel *Bailey*'s action, priſoners at *Bidenore*, others with the army ſouth of the *Coleroon*.

Mr. *Pitt*'s *India* bill having been adopted by Parliament, the Board of Control, and Directors reviſed the eſtabliſhments, and adopted the following plan of Major General Sir *Archibald Campbel*, which was tranſmitted to *Bengal* with the general plan of the new Government *.

* Letter of the Directors to the *Bengal* Government, September 21, 1785.

| | European Cavalry. | Native Cavalry. | Cavalry. | European Artillery. | European Infantry. | Sepoys. | | Lascars. | Engineers. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reg. | Reg. | Tps. | Com. | Batt. | Batt. | Com. | Com. | No. |
| **BENGAL.** | | | | | | | | | |
| *Fort William* | — | — | — | 5 | 1 | 8 | — | 10 | 12 |
| *Burhampoor* | — | — | — | — | 1 | 6 | — | 4 | 2 |
| *Dignapoor* | — | — | — | 1 | — | 6 | — | 4 | 2 |
| *Chunar Ghur* | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | — | 2 | 2 |
| Weſtern Frontier | — | — | 2 | 4 | 2 | 12 | — | 10 | 4 |
| **MADRAS.** | | | | | | | | | |
| Northern Diviſion | — | — | — | 1 | — | 12 | — | 7 | 3 |
| Southern Diviſion | — | 2 | — | 1 | 1 | 9 | — | 8 | 5 |
| Eaſtern Diviſion | 1 | 1 | — | 4 | 1 | 4 | — | 8 | 9 |
| Weſtern Diviſion | — | 3 | — | 2 | 2 | 11 | — | 7 | 5 |
| **BOMBAY.** | | | | | | | | | |
| *Bombay* Garriſon | — | — | — | 4 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 8 |
| *Salſette* Cantonment | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 6 | — | 4 | 2 |
| *Surat* Garriſon | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | ½ | 1 |
| *Tillicherry* | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 3 | ½ | 1 |
| | 1 | 6 | 2 | 23 | 10 | 83 | 8 | 69 | 56 |

*The foregoing Diſtribution ſuppoſed the* Indian *Army in* 1785 *to conſiſt of* 70,919 *Men.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bengal* | 29,038 | Men | at £. | 698,013 | 1 6 |
| *Madras* | 31,720 | | | 616,852 | 14 4 |
| *Bombay* | 10,161 | | | 165,624 | 5 2 |
| Including Officers | 70,919 | Men | £. | 1,480,490 | 1 0* |

From Mr. *Bruce* I ſtate the general Return of the *Indian* Army in 1788-9.

| BENGAL. | Officers. | Staff. | Non Com. & Priv. | Natives. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artillery, 3 Battalions - - - | 81 | 12 | 1110 | |
| European Infantry, 6 Batts. - | 162 | 30 | 3696 | |
| Engineers - - - - - - - | 22 | | | |
| Native Cavalry, 2 Regts. - - | 8 | 2 | 2 | 468 |
| Native Infantry, 36 Batts. - | 336 | 72 | 288 | 23,040 |
| | 609 | 116 | 5096 | 23,508 |

* The pay calculated conformably to the liſts of pay laid before Parliament in Feb. 1785, by the Directors.

| | | | *Europeans* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MADRAS. | Officers. | Staff. | Non. Com. & Priv. | Natives. | |
| Artillery, 2 Battalions - - | 54 | 8 | 740 | | |
| European Infantry, 2 Batts. | 108 | 20 | 2464 | | |
| Engineers - - - - - - | 22 | | | | |
| Native Cavalry, 5 Regts. | 35 | 15 | 30 | 2460 | |
| Native Infantry, 30 Regts. | 280 | 60 | 240 | 19,200 | |
| BOMBAY. | 499 | 103 | 3474 | 21,660 | |
| Artillery, 2 Batts. - - - | 27 | 4 | 370 | | |
| Engineers - - - - - - | 12 | | | | |
| European Infantry, 2 Batts. | 54 | 10 | 1232 | | |
| Native Infant. 12 Batts. | 112 | 24 | 96 | 7680 | |
| | 205 | 38 | 1698 | 7680 | Total |
| Total of Company's Troops | 1313 | 257 | 10,268 | 52,848 | 64,686 |
| Total of King's Troops | 387 | 56 | 7602 | | 8045 |
| | 1700 | 313 | 17,870 | 52,848 | 72,731 |
| Total Europeans - 19,883 | | | | | |

On the approach of the late war with *Tippoo Sultaun*, it became neceſſary to augment the King's and Company's troops: one troop was added to the King's regiment of cavalry, and two companies to each regiment of infantry; a detachment of 245 effective, from the royal artillery, was ſent out under a field officer: by theſe augmentations, the number of the King's troops ſerving in *India*, was about 10721. For the ſame reaſon, the Company augmented the ſepoy corps, from 8 to 10 companies in each regiment, which made an addition of about 12870 effectives: conſequently, the eſtabliſhment of *European* was then 22,549 *Europeans*, and 65,718 natives, excluſive of confederates in the war, the *Mahrattahs* and the *Nizam*.

The ſucceſſes againſt *Tippoo*, which termined in a peace, enabled Lord *Cornwallis* to reduce the army; but in what degree it was then reduced, and to what extent it has been again augmented, will be explained by Mr. *Dundas* when he makes his next report to Parliament. So far from its being a matter of apology, it ſhould be

conſidered a ſubject for praiſe, that Mr. *Dundas* heſitates at the final deciſion "on the circumſtances of embarraſſment, which have experimentally proved the military arrangements in *India* to be deficient, and to require amendment*."

The ſources of defect lately held forth are neither accurate nor conciliating; and although, neither individually nor collectively, the *Indian* army ought to preſume to dictate to Parliament, nor to define the rights of the Legiſlature and of the Executive Government of *Great Britain*, yet the feelings of *Engliſhmen* may be ſtimulated to indiſcretion, by the apprehenſion of intended injuſtice. The ſubject having been publicly diſcuſſed, I cannot but obſerve, that the following ſentences have been unfortunately ſelected to give a diſtinct view of the relative ſituation of the King's and Company's troops in *India* †. "No one will deny that jealouſies of a dangerous kind have ſubſiſted between the King's

* Plans for *India*, p. 512.

† Ibid. p. 514.

and Company's troops: the King's officers have complained, that the Company's regiments were better paid than they were, and that all the profitable ſtations had been aſſigned them."

A reference made to papers, laid before Parliament in 1791, upon the motion of Mr. *Hippeſley*, by aſcertaining that the King's troops had been paid in good coin, 2 months in advance, when the Company's troops have been from 10 to 12 months in arrears, and then paid in a depreciated currency, invalidates the above aſſertion, and is ſufficient to enſure the attention of Government and of Parliament to remove ſo injurious a diſtinction; and the proportion of 12 ſtations, now commanded by 12 field officers of ſix King's regiments, muſt occur, if the diſtinction of the King's and Company's army is not aboliſhed. Other obſervations on the defect of diſcipline, occaſioned by "officers commanding *European* regiments, being removed to command ſepoy battalions *"; and the regula-

* Plans for *India*, p. 504.

tions, in the ſame page, ſtated to exiſt, certainly cannot be ſupported; and notwithſtanding it is in another place aſſerted *, that a ſepoy regiment now attracts the wiſhes of a Company's officer, who originally looked anxiouſly to the command of an *European* battalion: it cannot be denied by the Board of Control, "that the command of an *European* battalion is now, as it always has been, the object of ambition; becauſe, to be entitled to command an *European* battalion, an officer muſt have the rank of Colonel, while that of a Captain is ſufficient to command a native corps. Every officer commanding an *European* corps, has a ſeparate command, and has the faireſt proſpect of acquiring a fortune; while the officer commanding a ſepoy regiment, has but a precarious chance of command, and a very diſtant proſpect of fortune." It cannot, however, be queſtioned, that Lord *Cornwallis* is a competent judge of the comparative ſtate of the troops. The ſingle corps of the Company's *Europeans* employ-

* Plans for *India*, p. 513.

ed in the laſt war, commanded by Major *Gowdie*, was diſtinguiſhed by Lord *Cornwallis* for its good conduct. His Lordſhip ſtates the artillery to be equal to any in *Europe**, which, having been greatly augmented, accounts for the leſs ſightly ſtate of the battalions of the Company's *European* infantry, "ſcarcely fitted for any but garriſon duty†"; and Lord *Cornwallis*'s obſervation, "that the *European* regiments were inferior in diſcipline to the ſepoy corps‡," involves both the King's and Company's regiments. The reaſon, adduced by an anonymous writer in the Morning Chronicle, is a probable, and likely to continue, a permanent reaſon. The natives are more obedient, their limbs more ſupple and pliant, and they do not enervate themſelves with ſpirituous liquors.

It would be unjuſt to impute, to the Company's officers, claims of preſcriptive

* Plans for *India*, p. 513.

† Ibid. p. 512.

‡ Ibid. p. 513.

rights; they are not a northern horde united by cuſtom, which, by long duration, has acquired the force of law. They were organized but the other day by *Clive*; they have been brought to their preſent perfection by ſucceſſive improvements, which the Company ordered to be introduced frequently by general officers, bearing his Majeſty's commiſſion: if the Company had really been independant of the ſtate, and if the King had not ſent detachments from the army of *Europe*, the regular army of *France* would have driven every *Engliſhman* from *India*: therefore, no *Engliſh* officer in the Company's ſervice, when we hear of preſcript right, can mean any other right than the preſcript rule of ſervice, which ought to protect him from evaſions and ſuperceſſions, injurious to his feelings as an officer, and to his fortune, and alſo injurious to the ſervice. Reforms ought to be made only when neceſſary; and then the prejudices of the reformed ought to be attended to, as far as the well-being of the ſtate can admit. Lord *Cornwallis* is the ſoldier's friend; and it requires the authority of ſuch a name to organize

the *Indian* army. I ſhall deſcribe ſhortly the ſtate of the King's and Company's ſervice at the period when the peace of 1783 with *France* was proclaimed at *Cuddalore*.

Lord *Macartney* conſidered the King's troops in *India* as auxiliaries, and himſelf as Governor, the reſponſible delegate of the Company's authority *, for the conduct of the war in the *Carnatic*; and ſo far were the King's officers from being peculiarly favoured beyond the poſitive orders from *Europe*, that he annulled the ſtaff appointments Sir *Eyre Coote* had given to the Kings troops. The letter from Lord *Macartney* and the Select Committee, dated 3 June, 1783, to Major-General *Stuart*, was not only the cauſe of mortification to the *Engliſh* General, but being intercepted by the *French*, it was tranſlated, and ſent to *Europe* as a curioſity; Monſ. *de Moiſſac*, Major *d'Eſcadre* to Monſ. *de Suffrein*, ſent it to a friend, with this remark " Je vous envoie la traduction d'une lettre du Comitté de *Madras* au Major Général *Stuart*; vous

* View of the *Engliſh* intereſts in *India*, page 32.

m'avez paru la deſirer;" "vous y verrez avec autant d'etonnement que nous, ſans doute, quel eſt le ſtyle que les agens de l'honorable Compagnie employent vis-à-vis les Généraux." In ſhort the civil and military departments were then at daggers drawing.

To give an idea of the *Sepoys*, I ſhall inſtance the *Sortie* from *Cuddalore*, which cloſed the hoſtilities with the *French* in 1783.

On the 25th of June, before day light, part of the *French* garriſon at *Cuddalore*, conſiſting of 900 *Europeans* and 600 *Sepoys*, attacked the *Engliſh* advanced corps. The field officer,* who had the charge of the parallel about 700 yards from the fort of *Cuddalore*, "ſtationed the 24th *Bengal* regiment of *Sepoys* to line the parapet; at half paſt two in the morning he ordered the men to fall in on the *banquette*; and about ten minutes after the men ſtood to their arms, the centinels of the 24th regiment

* The honourable Lieutenant Colonel *Cathcart*.

fired and ran in; inſtantly a ſhower of muſquetry followed them; the firing ſpread as far as the redan and the battalion on its left. The working parties, artificers, pioneers, &c. on the commencement of the fire, puſhing to the rear, broke through the reſerve: the morning was very dark; the noiſe and halloing of the workmen and the whizzing of the ſhot made the ſecond line miſtake them for the enemy; they were ſeized with a momentary panic; while the *Sepoys* in the *banquette* defended themſelves nobly; perceiving the confuſion which was in the rear, and being ſenior officer to Major *Cotgrave*, I went to aſſiſt in bringing back theſe troops; the *European* detachment, of 70 men, diſperſed; moſt of them ran to the camp. 150 *European* grenadiers ran near 100 yards before they attended to their officers' orders to halt; they ſoon formed, and advanced to their old ground, where they were ordered to halt with charged bayonet, and not to fire becauſe the *Sepoys* were in front: they were ſoon perfectly ſteady; the battalion of *Sepoys*, which formed the remainder of the

reſerve, returned, and formed on the left of the grenadiers.

" The firing about this time became more faint, but much nearer: the *French* defeated the *Bengal Sepoys*, notwithſtanding they had gallantly reſiſted them with their bayonets. Major *Cotgrave* and your humble ſervant * had walked towards the parallel to aſcertain its ſituation, and direct the *Sepoys*, if retiring from its defence, to go off to the left, that the ſecond line might open its fire; but they were all gone, and we perceived by the flaſhes that we were oppoſed to *Frenchmen* who fired at us. I directed Major *Cotgrave* to advance with the *Sepoy* battalion of the reſerve and ſuccour the *Redan*. Juſt as the Major was giving theſe orders, he was killed; but the officer who commanded the *Sepoy* corps, moved on, and fired one volley after gaining the parapet; a *French* captain of the regiment *de l'Iſle de France*, by a miſtake, got among this *Sepoy* battalion whilſt it was advancing, ran its commanding officer thro'

* Colonel *Cathcart*.

the ſhoulder, and was himſelf bayonetted in eight places: he had however the good fortune to recover.

"It was ſo dark that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh friend from foe. I did not advance with the grenadiers; but as ſoon as the *Sepoys* moved on from the left, I ordered them to wheel to the right, becauſe I every moment expected to ſee a body of the enemy advancing to turn our flank: they had not any intention of making the attack I looked for; but part of the troops which were on the *French* left, and conſequently attacked our right, loſt their way, and came up the rice field cloſe to the new-formed front of the grenadiers; ſtumbling at once upon a body of men drawn up with charged bayonets, they called for quarter; and 60 of them were diſarmed. About the time theſe people came up the rice field, the reſt of the enemy retired in confuſion, firing upon each other: thoſe who had attacked the battalion which was on the parallel to the left of the *Redan*, behaved ill; they were *Sepoys* lately raiſed;

in going off, they threw down moſt of their arms.

" Juſt as the firing ceaſed, Colonel *Gordon*, who had been at the head of the troops to the left, came to ſee what ſituation we were in, and informed us that the Chevalier *de Damas*, Colonel du Regiment *d' Acquitaine*, who commanded the ſally, was taken; he had heard his left advancing paſt our line, and made his orderly drum beat a charge, in hopes to perſuade the reſt of his detachment to return; he came cloſe to the parallel; nobody followed him, and an officer of *Sepoys* ſeized him and his drummer.

" The enemy are ſuppoſed to have loſt between 150 and 200 men, killed and wounded, ſeveral wounded officers were taken, and about 80 *Europeans* made priſoners.

" The 24th *Bengal* battalion loſt two ſtand of colours, moſt of their *European* officers killed or wounded, and 45 *Sepoys*. Major *Cotgrave* was killed, and three or four *European* ſoldiers were wounded. The

merit of this repulſe ought certainly to be attributed to the 24th *Bengal* ſepoys, and the fire of the guns and muſquetry from the *Redan*. The reſerve, in general, behaved well after they recovered their defeat by the *Cooleys*, except the picquet from the *European* brigade, which deſerved death for their bad behaviour." The above is an extract which Colonel *Cathcart* allowed me to take from his journal when I deſired his opinion of the Company's ſepoys. I have detailed the conduct of ſepoys in a night attack, when they are moſt ſubject to panic; and he told me that, at the battle of *Cuddalore*, when he was ordered to retreat with the *European* granadiers and 73d regiment, much exhauſted and broken, the troops *de la Mark* were deterred from charging, by the regularity of Colonel *Blane*'s regiment of ſepoys, who marched off in good line, under a fire of muſquetry and of grape.

I was alſo informed by that reſpectable young man, in 1784, that while he ſerved as a King's officer, "there were ſeveral cauſes of jealouſy between the component

parts of our *Indian* armies, eſpecially in the *Carnatic*; the allowances which the troops of the different preſidencies received on the ſame ſervice were not alike; the *Bengal* troops received an increaſe of pay becauſe they were ſouth of the river *Kiſtna*; the King's troops claimed the ſame emolument in conſequence of a ſtipulation which had been made in their favour at home.

"The *Carnatic* battalions did as much duty as either, upon half the pay which the *Bengaleſe* received. The officers of His Majeſty's forces command all thoſe of the ſame rank in the Company's ſervice: the preference is due to the King's commiſſion; but this precedence is attended with inconvenience on duty.

"A Captain in the Company's ſervice is, in general, many years acquiring his rank; he then gets a battalion of ſepoys, which is a conſiderable and profitable truſt.

"In moſt of the King's regiments ſerving in *India* the Captains had been a very

ſhort time in the army, and had obtained rank by raiſing independant companies; they frequently were on duty with veteran Captains of *Carnatic* ſepoys, who had ſerved twenty years, have had commands, and experience which rendered them equal to the charge of a brigade; the ſepoy officer mounts his picquet with a battalion, and, to give confidence to the ſepoys, a Captain of His Majeſty's ſervice is added to the detail, and though he brings only fifty *Europeans*, his rank gives him the command of the poſt: a very mortifying circumſtanue to the Captain commandant of a battalion; and beſides an important truſt is confided to a comparatively inexperienced officer.

"The gift of promotion is veſted in the civil power at *Madras* as in *Bengal*, the bad effects of which is felt, although, for ſeveral cauſes, the diſcipline of the coaſt troops is not equally ralaxed.

"The *Carnatic* has always been a ſcene of war; the coaſt officers of ſepoys have been on conſtant ſervice, and oppoſed to

active enemies; their military appearance under arms, their preciſion in manœuvre and attention to duty of many of their battalions, do theſe troops great honour. The *Carnatic* ſepoys are not men of high caſt; their religion does not interfere with any part of their diſcipline; they are hardy little men, and undergo hardſhips with chearfulneſs; their courage is more an effect of diſcipline, and a confidence in their *European* officers, than the fire of innate proweſs.

"The *Bengal* ſepoys have many religious prejudices which interfere with diſcipline; for inſtance, ablutions, and a cuſtom of ſtripping off their accoutrements and clothes before meals. They are men of high caſt, and nice ſenſe of honour; ſoldiers by birth, and of a moſt athletic form.

"Several of the battalions with which I have been on duty were in ſo high order, that they did honour to the officers who had trained them; by long continuance on ſervice they had conquered many of the

ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the ſepoys; although beneath the dignity of a *Rajapout* to dig, or carry burthens, I have ſeen whole battalions of them at work in a ditch, and carrying *Palmyra* trees for platforms; they ſaved their feelings by refuſing payment, and aſſerted that voluntary fatigue did not degrade them: I hardly ever ſaw a frown upon one of theſe good-natured fellows' countenances, though they were in arrears, had been two years from home, and diſtant 12 or 1800 miles from their families, in a climate which did not agree with them: this ſhews that, with good uſage, the *Bengal* ſepoys are formidable troops: their innate courage and athletic form would incline me to prefer them to the ſepoys of the *Carnatic* on equal diſcipline.

" It cannot be denied that luxury, and the profits of the military line, have introduced mercantile projects among the Company's officers, and promotion has depended upon the civil government and on friends. If a young man of the beſt diſpoſition, upon his arrival in *Bengal*, is ſent

to an out-ſtation, his brother officers ſoon initiate him in their ſecrets; if he thinks his commanding officer over ſtrict, and he has intereſt, his friends at the Preſidency procure his exchange to another cantonment, or leave of abſence; he ſtruts up, and preſents this defiance to his commandant, who muſt ſubmit; and by a few ſuch adventures an officer is ſickened from carrying on diſcipline.

"After a few years at *Calcutta*, ſpent in the height of diſſipation, and having ſeen little of his regiment, the young officer perhaps has intereſt to be ſent on a ſmall detached command; judge how fit he is to the command of native troops, and to protect the inhabitants of a diſtrict from oppreſſion; his *Banyan* leagues himſelf with the ſepoys; they plunder the country, ſqueeze the people, who dare not complain; this upper ſervant frequently gives the young commandant part of the ſpoils, aſſures him the diſtrict is happy under his protection, and the preſents are only tokens of their gratitude, or *Bazar tythes*, the regular dues of his ſtation; ten to one if

he knew the full extent of the misery he occasioned, the officer would rather not have the money; but he must have *Rupees*, and therefore makes few inquiries; he soon becomes habituated to the receipt of these sums; and if they are not frequent, the *Banyan* is dismissed and replaced by another. By the time he gets a battalion he has saved money; if his ideas are moderate, he prepares to return with a small competency to *Europe*; if he aspires to rank, should he live to attain it, he has greater scope for the same practices.

"This is the school of the army which defends the most valuable provinces. It may be asked, if this is a just report of the *Bengal* army, how all these forts have been stormed and native armies defeated by *Bengal* officers opposed to them with very inferior force? the luxury of the enemy being equal to theirs, they were, in this respect, on a par. The *Bengal* troops were sufficiently disciplined to change their position in action, while their antagonists were, from their irregularity, incapable of evolutions, and had very bad artillery opposed to

the *Engliſh* field pieces, which were numerous and well ſerved. *Bengal* has produced ſome capital officers, whoſe merit is the greater on account of the bad ſchool in which they were formed." Such having been the impartial ſtate of the army when Lord *Cornwallis* entered on his government, it is obvious great alterations appeared to be neceſſary. If the *European* troops have been augmented, the army has become more effective; but it ſtill remains to introduce the neceſſary meaſure which I was encouraged by the ſame friend to believe practicable.

"Arrangements might be made which would be conducive of harmony in our *Indian* armies if all the troops ſerved one maſter; but it never can be the caſe ſo long as ſeparate intereſts are ſuppoſed to exiſt: the King's officers, with ſuperior rank, expect all the commands; the Company's officers conſider them as intruders, depriving them of rewards due to long ſervices or loſs of health. As this is my opinion, I have never turned my thoughts on *Indian* ſervice, but on the idea of the

military government being in the hands of His Majeſty excluſively, or ſolely in the Company; in either of which caſes, an *Engliſh* officer or ſoldier might eaſily be eſtabliſhed on a more reſpectable footing than the *Britiſh* Conſtitution in *Europe* can admit of.

"*Hindoſtan* is accuſtomed to a military government; an army may be kept in diſcipline and protect the rights of the natives without exciting their jealouſy; a judicious uſe of our reſources ought to render the *Britiſh* arms paramount in *India*; but luxury and abuſes have pervaded both the military and civil ſervice: yet it does not follow that great retrenchments of pay and allowances would be ſolid economy. I ſhould preſume, if the troops were equally and well paid, but kept in diſcipline, our affairs will be more likely to proſper than if reductions of pay were adopted ſuited to the idea of expence in *Europe*.

"It cannot be expected that officers of credit will go 4,000 leagues from their native country, to fight againſt a hot climate,

and paſs their lives abſent from friends who are moſt dear to them, unleſs theſe diſadvantages are in ſome meaſure counterbalanced by emoluments which enable them to ſupport their rank genteely."

There appears only one ſubject of well-grounded alarm to the *Indian* army at this time, and it is a ſubject of difficulty and delicacy to decide. It is ſuppoſed, that all the officers of *Indian* regiments of *Europeans* are intended to be made King's officers, and their rank in the field with the King's *European* regiments, ſent out on extraordinary emergency, will be according to the general army liſt; and it is imagined that the *European* officers attached to the ſepoy ſervice will be totally excluded from the eſtabliſhment of *European* regulars. This, in a great degree, would imitate the *French* ſyſtem. The *French* army at *Cuddalore*, in June, 1783, conſiſted of the regiments *de la Marck*, *les Allemands*, *Royal Rouſſillon*, *d'Auſtraſie*, *d'Acquitaine*; detachments from the regiments *de l'Iſle de France*, *de Forêt*, *de la Legion de Lauzun*, *ou Volontaires Etrangers*, & *de Bour-*

*bon*, and three companies of *European* artillery. The whole of their ſepoys 1200, 800 *caffres*, ſtrong and active aſſiſtants to their artillery. Their auxiliaries 4 *Raſſalahs* of *Tippoo Saheb*'s infantry, about 1200 men, 4000 *Myſorean* cavalry, commanded by *Seyd Saheb*. The whole army and fleet was under the command of the Marquis *de Buſſy*, and he reinforced the garriſon on the 24th of June with 1200 *Europeans*; and, without endangering the ſafety of the ſhips, he might have attempted any particular attack with 5000 *Europeans*; but regiments unſeaſoned to the climate have many great diſadvantages. The *French* ſepoys were at all times as a degraded corps, and the *European* officers ſerving in it were treated by the King's officers *de haut en bas*, inſomuch that only adventurers were inclined to ſerve in their native regiments. The ſuperiority, and indeed the excellence, of the *Britiſh* ſepoys has ariſen from the *European* and ſepoy regiments being officered from the ſame liſt, which proved at the ſame time a corrective to the ſlow and regular riſe without purchaſe, which ought to be firmly adhered to; conſe-

quently I have been long of opinion, that the ſeparation of the *European* officers of ſepoys from thoſe of the *European* regiments in *India*, would not only occaſion univerſal diſſatisfaction, but would materially injure both the ſepoy and *European* corps; as it is, the promotion of the Company's army is ſufficiently ſlow, there being Enſigns 10, Lieutenants 20, Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels 25 to 27, and Colonels 30 years ſtanding; if they roſe in proportion to the army of *Great Britain* there could be no juſt complaint; and in times of peace, the officers on the *Indian* eſtabliſhment ought to be indulged with leave of abſence for health, or for their private affairs, without being deprived of their promotion or pay; but the period of abſence ſhould be made compatible with the diſcipline of troops, and with juſtice to the maſs of officers, who muſt have their turn of abſence, and not be obliged to do the duty of thoſe who have intereſt to protract their leave of abſence: and it will be juſt and prudent to anticipate the requeſt of the *Indian* army. As to a corps of engineer *Cadets*, Mr. *Pitt*

may find a paper addreſſed to him in April or May, 1788, by a perſon who did not ſupport his meaſures, explanatory of this opinion; and the meaſure ſtill being under the conſideration of Government, farther obſervation to elucidate what I have already ſaid on this ſubject * in the foregoing pages would be ſuperfluous. If we conſider the probable conſequences of the general ſyſtem of *India* which has been eſtabliſhed ſince 1784, we muſt augur well for *Britiſh India*; the chain of ſubordination is completed, and the different prejudices can no longer counteract each other. If proper perſons are not ſelected for important offices, the fault is not imputable to the act of Parliament; and if a doubt can exiſt whether military honour will be leſs ſecure under the direct order of the Crown than they have been, let them read Sir *Eyre Coote*'s pathetic minute on the records of the Supreme Council on his laſt departure for the *Carnatic*.

The ſame apology which was good pre-

* Introduction, p. xxxviii.

vious to 1784, cannot be admitted by the Commiſſioners and Directors under the preſent act: the power of *Britiſh India* may have its full effect, and the errors and counteraction of former times may be avoided. How could a Governor, of abilities and honour equal to Lord *Macartney*, intuitively manage the *Carnatic* and eſtimate the reſpective ſervices? In reading the letter from the Preſident and Select Committee of *Madras* to the Commander in Chief, dated the 3d of June, 1783, we muſt ſee the fallacy of commanding Generals by precedent, without weighing the relative circumſtances of the periods. The reference to the force with which General *Lawrence* drove the *French* from *India*, could not be deciſive of the force neceſſary to attack *Cuddalore* in 1783; nor the march of Sir *Eyre Coote*, in 1782, to victual *Vellore*, could not be a rule of reprobating the ſlow progreſs of General *Stuart*'s army, ſtated to be only three miles a day; when, in the former caſe, the carriage bullocks were ſufficient for that ſervice, though it is known that the Government could only provide one third of the number which

that general required, as neceſſary for the general ſervice of the campaign; and in the latter caſe, the want of carriage bullocks making it neceſſary to move ſeveral marches in advance, and ſend back the cattle with an eſcort to bring up the reſidue of grain which had been left *en depot*, would make the average work of the bullocks by no means to correſpond with the average advance of the army. The anxiety of extinguiſhing the *French* power at *Cuddalore* before *Tippoo* returned from *Bedenore*, was naturally an object to ſtimulate exertion; but the *Madras* Government muſt have lamented not having ſtrengthened the northern army, inſtead of queſtioning the propriety of that requiſition, when the *Engliſh* army having forced the lines, deſiſted from battering the fort of *Cuddalore*, becauſe, had the *curtain* been laid open, the force in the fort was too great for the *Engliſh* army to ſtorm it after *Suffrein* had returned; but had the detachment from the ſouthern army arrived, an aſſault might have been ſucceſsful; fortunately the dilemma vaniſhed on the arrival of the Deputies with the preliminaries of peace.

The Government ordered the army to return to *Madras*, which General *Bruce* was unable to obey for want of carriage bullocks; as an expedient, General *Bruce* was ordered to leave the artillery and ſtores upon receipt under commiſſaries in *Cuddalore*, where, it was not doubted, the politeneſs of Monſ. *de Buſſy* would give them room until *Cuddalore* was given up to us, or it was convenient to ſend for them: this order was remonſtrated againſt, and thought too unmilitary and humiliating to be complied with; in the mean time the camp followers periſhed, after the peace, from want of proviſions, and the relief did not reach the *Engliſh* at *Cuddalore* till the 20th of *July*, 1783. The Government muſt have repented its haſty cenſure of the military, if it weighed the relative circumſtances of the *French* and *Engliſh*, on the ſuppoſition that the interval from the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities to the 20th of July had been a continuation of warfare. The circumſtances which influenced the temper of the civil and military councils of *Britiſh India* at that time are well ſtated by

Colonel *Fullarton**: that officer has given a very full detail of the operations of the ſouthern army, which he joined with the King's troops in October, 1782, when Colonel *Lang*'s command to the ſouth of the *Coleroon* was made reſpectable. He was ordered by General *Stuart* to join the army deſtined to attack the *French* at *Cuddalore*; but before he could join the Commander in Chief, Colonel *Fullarton* was appointed by the *Madras* Government to ſucceed Colonel *Lang*; and when hoſtilities with the *French* ceaſed, the ſouthern army became the moſt reſpectable army in the *Carnatic*. It would have been fortunate if his command had commenced at an earlier period of the war, his narrative then would have included the progreſs of Colonel *Humberſton* on the *Malabar* coaſt, and no one would have done juſtice to a deceaſed friend with more ability, for he had looked up to him as an officer, and when he conſidered him as a man, Colonel *Fullarton* had valued himſelf in the diſtinction of being the friend of Colonel *Humberſton*.

* A View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts in *India*, p. 32, &c.

The countenance which Lord *Macartney* gave to Colonel *Humberſton*'s ideas of promoting offenſive opperations againſt *Tippoo* was very judicious; but when that officer was ordered to join General *Mathews* at *Onore*, the whole ſtrength of the *Carnatic* ought to have been directed againſt the *French*; poſſibly Lord *Macartney* did not know that the *Bombay* Preſidency had ordered Colonel *Humberſton*'s army from the *Zamorines* country, for at that period the want of unity of plan ſacrificed the public ſervice.

A letter from *Bombay* falſely repreſented Colonel *Humberſton*'s being defeated, and having loſt all his baggage, which letter, printed in the *Engliſh* papers, was all we heard of that officer; and it is remarkable how deficient the *Madras* Government was in local information and circumſtances of the country. When Colonel *Fullarton* approached *Palagatcherry*, in November, 1783, a "near inſpection of its ſtrength impreſſed him with ſerious apprehenſions that much time might be waſted in its reduction *;"

* A View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts in *India*, p. 163.

and he was minute in a deſcription of the place, "becauſe its conſequence and local ſituation were not accurately known to *Europeans**:" ſuch had been the dilemma of Colonel *Humberſton* the preceding year. That officer had, however, taken poſt at *Mangaree* in October, 1782, and leaving in that fort ſtores and ſick, under a proper guard, he had advanced with four field pieces and two amuſettes, and in force reconnoitred *Palagatcherry*. By the general orders, of which I have a copy, the journal he ſent to me having never arrived, I know that he left *Mangaree* the 17th of October; and October 19, 20, and 21 were employed in marching round *Palagatcherry*; and having aſcertained its ſtrength, he received reports of *Tippoo* being expected, and being without hopes of reinforcements from Colonel *Lang*'s army, he retreated to *Mangaree*, where he remained till the 11th of November, when he fell back to *Rangurrie*, and made his diſpoſition to retire to *Paniani*† if his *Hircarahs*

* A View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts in *India*, p. 166.

† Colonel *Humberſton*'s correſpondance with Lieutenant *Greves* from his different ſtations, in the months

confirmed the rumour of *Tippoo*'s approach; and ſo excellent were his arrangements, that although *Tippoo* with his army appeared two hours after his *Hircarahs* brought him certain intelligence of his arrival from the *Carnatic*, he detached his irregulars by the hills, impracticable for his baggage, and made good his retreat to *Paniani*, in the face of *Tippoo*'s army, without the loſs of his ſick, his ſtores, or his artillery, on the 18th and 19th of November, 1782; when he arrived at *Paniani*, Colonel *Macleod* had juſt landed; Colonel *Humberſton*, in his turn, was thereby ſuperſeded, in a moment moſt critical to his glory; in the eſtimation of his profeſſional friends he acquired it, by effecting a moſt difficult taſk, the retreat of infantry in the face of a ſuperior body of cavalry: he laboured hard for fame;

of October and November, 1782, ſhew the precarious ſituation in which his army was for want of every neceſſary; and the journal of Lieutenant *Groves*, commander of the armed tranſport the *Pondicherry*, ſhew the zeal and activity of that officer in complying with his directions. It is remarkable Lieutenant *Groves* had been employed, with the ſame rank, at the ſame place, and on the ſame ſervice, thirty years before, patronized by Sir *C. Saunders* and Sir *E. Hughes*.

and his zeal, as ſecond in command, did not abate, even when he was ordered to join General *Mathews*; and he was obliged to take leave of his moſt favourite ſchemes for the benefit of his country, and was removed ſtill farther from the command.

I inſert an extract from four of Colonel *Humberſton*'s letters, which will ſhew that a military voyage of armed tranſports is unlike a voyage of four months in a Company's ſhip, and to claim for him a portion of merit in firſt ſtriking out the proper mode of protecting the *Carnatic*. When Colonel *Fullarton* was ſtopped in his career of honour, he was maſter of *Palagatcherry*, and was conſulting whether it would be better to move down to *Paniani* for ſtores, and proceed to attack *Seringapatam* by the paſs of *Dalmacherry*, or to return with the ſtores and proceed through the *Coimbetore*; but his views were finally turned to the forts of *Settimungulum* and *Ardenille*, as the eaſieſt way to *Seringapatam*, when the orders from the above-mentioned *Madras*

* View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts, p. 169.

Deputies directed all poſts, &c. to be evacuated which had been taken after the 26th of July, 1783, which the *Madras* Government, by their minutes of conſultation, ordered to be obeyed.

The late war with *Tippoo* began at the point at which Colonel *Fullarton* left off: Lord *Cornwallis*, by connecting his forces, and directing them by *Bangalore* to *Tippoo*'s capital, in the ſecond campaign, effected the brilliant ſervice. The conſequences of unity in the ſervice, and defined powers veſted in a Governor General, appear ſtrongly by contraſting the periods.

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*Callicut*, on the *Malabar* Coaſt, September 2d, 1782.

Dear Sir,

AN opportunity of writing to *Europe* has occurred very unexpectedly; we have juſt heard at this place that the Indiamen ſail this month for *England* from *Bombay*; ſuch an opportunity could not have occurred

at a more unſeaſonable time, as the rainy ſeaſon is juſt over, and our troops took the field this morning. The hurry and confuſion attending our preparations for the field will prevent my writing to you ſo fully as I wiſh; I have kept a very regular journal of our voyage and adventures, and was making an extract from it for your entertainment, but a ſevere dyſentery, (which had very near put an end to my adventures,) and the hurry ſince I recovered of getting ready to march, will prevent your receiving this precious *morceau*; I will, however, finiſh it when I have leiſure. It contains very learned diſquiſitions on the ſea ſcurvy, very excellent advice with regard to armed tranſports and ſecret expeditions, and a comparative view of the difference between fighting in the Houſe of Commons and at ſea, particularly with a 50-gun ſhip and a frigate againſt a 74: but all this I muſt defer till another opportunity; I ſhall at preſent content myſelf with giving you a very ſhort account of our adventures ſince we came into the *Indian* ſeas.

After the ſad buſineſs of *Saldanha* bay, and Mr. *Johnſon*'s departure, we made for the iſland of *Johanna*; we were ſhort of proviſions, on an allowance of a quart of water per day, and our men ill of the ſcurvy: in this ſituation we were becalmed between *Madagaſcar* and the main of *Afrika*, where we were pretty nearly broiled; and when we arrived at the iſland of *Johanna*, our ſhip exhibited the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle of miſery and diſtreſs that ever I was witneſs to; and ſome of the veſſels were worſe, few better, than we were. We loſt very near a third of the men on board between the *Cape* and *Johanna*: we had, as you know, ſeventeen officers in the cabin all the paſſage, and at the time I mention, no leſs than ſeven ſick at one time. To be crammed for a twelvemonth into twenty-two feet ſquare, with ſeventeen people, who ate, drank, ſlept, ſhifted, and waſhed themſelves in that one apartment, was what you may call a comfortable ſituation; but when ſo many of theſe were ſick in their births, it became really too much to bear: *Cuthbert* and myſelf were ſo fortunate as to

preſerve our healths during the whole paſſage; but after the diſappointment of all our expectations, a general dejection prevailed; and the uncommon length of the paſſage, and confinement on board ſuch crowded ſhips, impaired every conſtitution more or leſs; even thoſe who had no abſolute illneſs, ſhowed, by their pale, ſickly countenances, that they had ſuffered by the voyage. The iſland of *Johanna* recovered our ſcorbutic men ſurprizingly, and was of ſervice to us all, except an unfortunate party of *Highland* officers, who all pitched their tents together in a moſt beautiful valley, which proved one of the moſt fatal ſpots I ever heard of. They were all ſeized with fevers, ſome before we left the iſland, others ſoon after our embarkation; eleven died out of fifteen who compoſed the party; and two officers of the 98th were, when they left us, dying of the conſequences of that fever: almoſt all their ſervants died; and eleven women from the *Pondicherry*, who had a hut in the ſame valley to waſh our linen, every one died. When I went on ſhore, they had pitched my tent in the centre of them; but I hap-

pened very luckily to have ſtudied *Lind* very hard during the voyage, and I obſerved that this valley had every appearance of thoſe ſituations which he cautions you to avoid; it was ſhut up from the ſea breeze, and the beautiful woods which ſurrounded it on every ſide made it damp, and prevented the free circulation of air; I accordingly ſtruck my tent, in ſpite of all the reproaches I received for deſerting the *Highlanders*, and pitched pretty high on the ſide of a neighbouring hill, in a very dry ſoil, and expoſed to the ſea breeze; *Fullarton* pitched his near mine; *Cathcart*, *Hutchiſon*, and a colony, about equal in number to that in the valley, was formed on the hill; the advantage of ſituation, and the neceſſity of attending to it in hot climates, could not be more ſtrongly marked; not one of our colony on the hill ſuffered the leaſt illneſs, but were, on the contrary, much better in our healths after we left the iſland; *Fullarton*, in particular, who landed very ill, recovered during our ſtay there. When we left *Johanna* we expected to be at *Bombay* in a fortnight, inſtead of which, after being two months at ſea,

we found ourselves at *Morebat*, on the coast of *Arabia*, and as the monsoon was directly against us, our expectations of reaching *Bombay* was more distant than ever. In this miserable and barren spot, the General and Captain *Alms*, of the *Monmouth*, agreed in opinion, that it would be proper for the men of war to lose no time in joining Sir *Edward Hughes*, as *Suffrein*'s squadron would give the *French* too great a superiority; they accordingly left us, taking great part of the 98th regiment with them, and left me in command of the rest of the troops. *Fullarton* and others, who were going on, condoled with me on being left, and thought it a disagreeable circumstance; I was myself of a very different opinion; I thought that from the various unforeseen occurrences of war, it was a great chance that we might not meet with General *Meadows* again; in which case I might land in *India* with a respectable body of troops, and might probably get some of the Company's added to them, and obtain an independent command: all this has happened.

When the men of war who left us came to *Bombay*, Sir *E. Hughes* with the fleet was on the other coaſt; they had ſailed and left orders at *Bombay* for the tranſports to follow them immediately. On proceeding down this coaſt, Captain *Smith*, of the *San Carlos*, and myſelf received intelligence of the *French* fleet's being daily expected at *Ceylon*; this obliged the ſhips to return to *Bombay*, and, on the way up, I landed the troops here in February laſt. This place was juſt taken by Major *Abington*; but the enemy remained in the country in force, and *Hyder* ſent a reinforcement under the command of *Mugdum Ali Khan*, his brother-in-law. Major *Abington* had been a very fortunate man; he found it much more for his intereſt to remain in the command of the town of *Callicut* than to take the field under my command: when I found the enemy were within fifteen miles of this place, I inſiſted on his joining his troops to mine, and proceeding againſt the enemy; he begged leave to reſign, to which I very readily conſented, and he went to *Bombay*. His reſignation, and his objections to move, would have

led me into a ſcrape had I been unſucceſsful; I ſhould, in that caſe, have been accuſed by every one of raſhneſs and obſtinacy, in neglecting the advice of an officer who knew the country, and who, ſooner than co-operate in ſuch meaſures, retired from his command. I was, however, more lucky; on the 7th of laſt April I came up with *Mugdum Ali Khan*, commonly called *Mugdum Saheb*, and with a ſmall part of my troops gave him a total defeat; he himſelf, ſeveral principal officers, and between three and four hundred men, fell in the action; his force conſiſted of about 3,000 foot, near 1,000 horſe, and four pieces of artillery: I am aſhamed to name my number, they were ſo few, that you will think me raſh to have ventured an action. In conſequence of this action, the enemy evacuated all this country, which belonged formerly to a *Gentoo Rajah*, called the *Zamorine*, whom I reſtored to his poſſeſſions. The enemy retired to a fort called *Palacatcherry*, which commands the only paſs that is in the mountains which ſeparate this country from *Hyder Ally*'s. I attempted to march up the country to

reduce this fort, but the rainy ſeaſon coming on much ſooner than uſual, compelled me to return, and gave me a dyſentery by which my conſtitution has received the ſevereſt ſhock it ever ſuſtained.

The rainy ſeaſon being over, I opened the campaign this day. I mean firſt to reduce *Paliacatcherry*; and if I ſucceed in that, I have many eligible plans afterwards, the preference of which muſt be determined by circumſtances. If I am fortunate, I may aſk to leave this country with credit.

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*Tellicherry*, on the *Malabar Coaſt*,
December 29, 1782.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE ſhot ſo many letters at you, that I can have no doubt of ſome of them having reached you. I ſhall, therefore, take it for granted that you know of my having had the command of a ſmall army on this coaſt ſince laſt March,—that you

have received my letters, informing you of my having defeated *Mugdum Saheb*, and afterwards *Goolam Odin*, before the rains; and of my intention of going up to *Palia-catcherry* this campaign, the fortreſs which commands the paſs, through the *Balagate* Mountains, to the *Coromandel* Coaſt. I have told you in my other letters, how my march to this important fortreſs drew upon me *Tippoo Saheb*, *Hyder*'s beſt general, and eldeſt ſon, with an army of 30,000 men and 24 pieces of artillery; and I have given you the circumſtances of our retreat before this formidable army, with only 2000 men; in which we marched 36 miles without ſtopping, and croſſed 3 large rivers in their face, without loſing a ſingle piece of baggage or artillery. I juſt mention the heads of theſe circumſtances, leſt you ſhould not have received my other letters; and I ſhall continue what has ſince happened.—The place to which I directed my retreat is a town, called *Paniani*, about a degree and ½ to the ſouth of this place, a ſtrong poſt, and in which I had my magazines. On my arrival there, I found Colonel *Macleod*, of the 42d, who being my ſenior

officer, of courſe, took the command. A few days after our arrival, and before we had time to ſtrengthen ourſelves by any works, *Tippoo Saheb* attempted to force us. Monſ. *Lally* planned and conducted the attack; they were repulſed with the loſs of upwards of 1000 men killed and wounded; amongſt whom were two *French* captains of Monſ. *Lally*'s corps, *Goolam O'Din*, commiſſioned officer for *Hyder* before *Tippoo*'s arrival, and ſeveral principal officers. On this ſevere check, *Tippoo* retired about eight miles from us, and lay there inactive ſeveral days: during that time we worked hard, and intrenched ourſelves completely. We expected and wiſhed he would again attack us, inſtead of which he at once moved off to the eaſtward by very rapid marches, and, to our ſurpriſe, withdrew his whole force to the other coaſt. We have received intelligence of *Hyder*'s death, though not yet poſitively confirmed, which accounts for his conduct. It is too long a detail for me to explain to you all the reaſons which induced me to undertake this expedition, or the political conſequences it may have, (or even has had) on the gene-

ral iſſue of the war. The Preſidency of *Bombay*, under whoſe orders I am placed by the commander in chief, is extremely mortified, that a King's officer ſhould, in ſpite of them, retain, for ſo long a time, the command of their troops; they, therefore, very generouſly left me 12 months without money, or ſtores, or orders, fully determined to diſapprove of any plan I adopted. The Preſidency of *Madras*, on the contrary, have the ſame opinion of the expedition that I have, and have felt the good conſequences of it, although not ſucceſsful. I have, therefore, general cenſure from *Bombay*, and thanks from *Madras*. The preſent plan of the Preſidency of *Bombay* will, I ſhould imagine, be liable to much cenſure. They have withdrawn all the troops from the *Callicut* territories, and have ſent down their Commander in Chief, Brigadier-General *Mathews*, with a very conſiderable addition of force to attack *Hyder*'s provinces, to the northward of *Mangalore*. The conſequences of abandoning *Callicut* are terrible; we have uſed every means in our power to induce the *Nairs*, the inhabitants of that province, to

join us; in conſequence of which, they revolted from *Hyder*'s Government, and gave us every ſupply and aſſiſtance, and joined us in conſiderable numbers: in return, we abandoned them, without remorſe, to the mercy of a moſt implacable enemy; and any man who is acquainted with the maxims of *Hyder*'s Government, and has been witneſs to the cruelty of his puniſhments, muſt be ſhocked when he reflects on the ſufferings that will inevitably be inflicted on theſe unfortunate people. It muſt be totally deſtructive of all future confidence on this coaſt, as to our alliance alone they will very juſtly attribute the calamities they will ſuffer. If, however, the abandoning our friends and allies was juſtified by ſtate neceſſity, or even by the attainment of any much more important object, it might be vindicated by the maxims of *Machiavelian* policy; but I think this does not appear to be the caſe. The only object of military operations againſt *Hyder*'s poſſeſſions on this coaſt, is to compel him to quit the *Carnatic*; for the people have at laſt diſcovered, that Sir *Eyre Coote*'s excurſions in the *Carnatic*, and his

fruitleſs victories, have very little effect on the iſſue of the war. While *Hyder* continues in the *Carnatic*, he is, and muſt be, abſolute maſter of the country; our garriſons, even *Madras* itſelf, can protect only within the reach of its guns: when our army marches out, they are pretty much in the ſame ſituation, and ſurrounded on every ſide by innumerable bodies of cavalry, command only the ground they occupy. They derive no advantage from theſe excurſions; they find the country laid waſte on every ſide of them; nor can they procure a day's proviſion beyond what they bring with them from *Madras*. Our army has never been poſſeſſed of conveyance for above 20 days' proviſion, and conſequently never equal to any enterpriſe of moment. *Hyder*, on the contrary, has the moſt ample conveyance for artillery, ſtores, and proviſions; poſſeſſed of this advantage, and commanding an army of natives of the climate, and conſiſting chiefly of cavalry, he can march 30 miles while we march 10, and conſequently carries on the war in the manner he prefers. He knows, as well as Sir *Eyre*, the day on which he will

be compelled to return to *Madras* for proviſions; and during the time our army continues in the field, he either harraſſes them inceſſantly, or, if he thinks he has any advantage, gives battle. We have, on theſe occaſions, always defeated him; but what advantage can an army, like ours, derive from victory?—Experience proves that we derive no advantage whatever; we drive *Hyder* from the field, but we can neither take his artillery, nor prevent his retreat; every man we loſe on theſe occaſions is valuable to us, and though he ſhould loſe ten for one, it is a matter of no conſequence to him. He, therefore, fights with every advantage: victory is of no avail to us, and one defeat would be utter ruin. It is evident, from theſe circumſtances, that while *Hyder* can carry on the war, in a great meaſure, at our expence, and while his own dominions are untouched, and his reſources unimpaired, we may be certain, he will never relinquiſh ſo valuable an object as the acquiſition of the *Carnatic*. It is equally evident that, if you can invade his territories, he muſt return for their defence; and if you can ſupport an army in

his country, you retaliate upon him the game he is now playing upon you, and fight him with his own reſources. His dominions reach from the interior part of the peninſula to the coaſt of *Malabar*; and on that coaſt are ſituated many of his largeſt towns, and richeſt and moſt fertile provinces. The neighbourhood of the ſea and many large rivers give us every advantage for the conveyance of ſtores and proviſions; and many of theſe provinces are late conqueſts, and the inhabitants averſe to his government. It is aſtoniſhing how all theſe advantages have been ſo long overlooked, and even now they are made uſe of, how feebly, and in a manner not by any means adequate to the very great advantages which might be derived from them. The provinces of *Canara* and *Onore*, againſt which we are at preſent proceeding, are very valuable, and are on the confines of the *Mahrattah* dominions, from whom *Hyder*, ſome years ago, took ſome conſiderable poſſeſſions; and from our bending our efforts this way, I hope we expect the *Mahrattahs* to join us; in that caſe, we ſhall receive from them every thing we

want,—conveyance for ſtores and proviſions, and a large body of cavalry; ſuch a junction would ſhake *Hyder*'s power to the center, and even his capital might fall. But if this expedition is undertaken without a view of ſuch junction, we cannot proceed far from the coaſt, nor make any impreſſion of conſequence. On the contrary, we might have been able to do ſomething effectual, by entering his country through the paſs of *Palacatcherry*. A large army has been formed on the other coaſt at *Tanjore*, which has now marched to the weſtward of *Trichinopoly*, under the command of Colonel *Lang*. The magazines, which Mr. *Sullivan*, the Chief of *Tanjore*, has formed at *Trichinopoly*, and the quantity of draught and carriage cattle he has collected, are, in proportion to the army, far ſuperior to any yet formed this war in *India*. The plan concerted between *Sullivan*, Colonel *Lang*, and myſelf, was to form a junction of our two armies in *Hyder*'s intermediate country; or if the approach of a larger army ſhould render it impoſſible for me to take *Paliacatcherry*, Colonel *Lang* propoſed marching acroſs to that fortreſs, and by

that means effecting a junction; our two armies, if ſupplied in the manner *Sullivan* has undertaken, would have been equal to *Hyder*'s whole force; and by marching to the northward, would be in the very center of his dominions, and at no great diſtance from his capital. A ſtroke ſo deciſive muſt have drawn him from the *Carnatic*, and as we were in a ſtate to maintain ourſelves in his country, if our grand army from *Madras* could by any means have been able to follow him, the conſequences would probably have been deciſive of the war. If, on the *Bombay* plan at preſent purſued, they have views of a junction with the *Mahrattahs*, theſe conſequences may ſtill enſue, and *Lang*'s army will make a capital diverſion to the ſouthward. But if we have no proſpect of a junction with the *Mahrattahs*, we have no means of conveyance, nor is our force ſufficient to withſtand *Hyder*, if he pours his whole force upon us from the *Carnatic*.

*Goa*, February 16, 1783.

Dear Sir,

The hurry in which I write prevents my giving you a detail of the great events which have lately happened: take the following ſhort account:

The Preſidency of *Bombay*, in conſequence of orders from the Directors and the Supreme Council, exerted themſelves to make a vigorous impreſſion on *Hyder's* territories on the *Malabar* coaſt; his moſt valuable poſſeſſion on this coaſt is the province of *Bidenore*. The army I, and afterwards Colonel *Macleod*, commanded, was ordered from *Callicut* to join the force ſent from *Bombay*: the whole made a very fine army, under the command of Brigadier-General *Mathews*. His conduct as an officer exceeds all credibility, and his unexampled ſucceſs aſtoniſhed thoſe who were witneſs to it; and through that me-

dium the public muſt judge favourably of it. At the capital of the province we found *Hyder*'s principal magazines, a very fine foundery for braſs cannon, a powder manufactory, and immenſe ſtores of every kind. The province which we obtained in ſo ſhort a time and with ſo little loſs (about 200 men killed and wounded), paid an annual revenue of 700,000l. to *Hyder*; and *Mangalore*, his principal ſea-port, is within it. The principal cauſes of our great ſucceſs were *Hyder*'s death; a miſunderſtanding generally ſuppoſed to exiſt between two brothers, his ſons; and the inveterate animoſity which *Tippoo Saheb*, now *Nabob*, is known to bear to *Hyat Saheb*, the Governor of *Bidenore*: this latter circumſtance depriving him of every hope in that quarter, induced him, when he found us advancing rapidly upon him, to ſurrender the capital and the province, on condition of being continued as Governor. This province is fairly emboſomed in that great chain of mountains, the *Gauts*, which runs north and ſouth through the *Indian* peninſula: theſe mountains come within 25 miles of the ſea, and it is impoſſible to

penetrate into the interior country and the capital but by two or three very ſtrong and difficult paſſes; and it has the peculiar felicity of being equally defended by paſſes on the eaſtern ſide, from whence *Tippoo* muſt of courſe attack it. You, or any other able General, would, I am ſure, think the plan of defence very obvious, by ſecuring theſe paſſes into the *Myſore* country with your whole united force: not ſo thinks General *Mathews*.

It is about 120 miles from *Bidenore* to *Seringapatam*, *Tippoo*'s capital; there is no force there, nor any between it and *Bidenore*, but what is ſhut up in forts of no great importance. We have accounts of *Tippoo* having taken the field in the *Carnatic*, of his having been joined by a body of *French*, and of their ſuppoſed deſign of attacking *Vandiwaſh*. When *Tippoo* hears of the conqueſt and ſurrender of *Bidenore*, he muſt, of courſe, tremble for his capital, (as he cannot yet know the diſpoſitions of our general, and the ſtate of our army:) there are only two alternatives; he muſt either ſay to us, reſtore me *Bidenore* and

I will evacuate the *Carnatic*, or he muſt march with the whole of his force to recover what he has loſt: the inſtant he adopts the latter meaſure, our army will recover *Arcot* and every place in the *Carnatic*, and it will probably prove fatal to the army under General *Mathews*. Gen. *Mathews* is convinced, beyond all perſuaſion, that *Tippoo* will not come againſt him, and on this ſuppoſition he very imprudently acts. I left his army the other day ſo ſcattered and detached, that he cannot aſſemble it in three weeks: I know, from having experienced it, the rapidity with which *Tippoo* can move a large army and numerous artillery, and the excellent means he takes to prevent all intelligence, by having large bodies of horſe on every road in his front, ſo that I am convinced General *Mathews* will never have three days notice of his approach, and if he finds his army in its preſent ſituation, they are irretrievably ruined; and, at any rate, I am certain he is not equal to that difficult taſk, a judicious defenſive: but happen what will to his army, the Company will benefit by the recovery of the *Carnatic*."

The rank of Colonel *Macleod* and Colonel *Humberſton* advanced them over General *Mathews*, whoſe rank was Colonel in the Company's ſervice, with temporary rank of Brigadier General. On their arrival at *Bombay*, the Preſidency ordered Colonel *Macleod* to return to command the army; and in the laſt letter I received from Colonel *Humberſton*, he expreſſes himſelf as follows:

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*Bombay*, March 2d, 1783.

" IN this ſituation, the Preſidency have thought proper to ſuſpend General *Mathews*, and have given the command of the troops to Colonel *Macleod*; they have, at the ſame time requeſted my ſervices, and, inſtead of one of their uſual epiſtles, have ſaid a great many pretty things to me. We are now going inſtantly down to the army, with a reinforcement of three bat-

talions of ſepoys; if *Tippoo* arrives before us, I am afraid our command will be ſhort; he will cut up the army by detail before they can poſſibly be aſſembled; at any rate we ſhall have warm work. The Preſidency, you ſee, have forgiven me, and graciouſly taken me into their favour; I cannot forget their leaving me 12 months without money or ſtores, and miſrepreſenting my character as an officer, to the Commander in Chief, the Preſidency of *Madras*, and the Supreme Council: as I was ignorant of the attack, I could make no defence; fortunately I had always correſponded with the *Madras* Preſidency, and concerted meaſures with them; they were as warm in my defence as the *Bombay* Preſidency in the attack; conſidering their ignorance of the true ſtate of the caſe, I have really been treated with great candour by the Supreme Council."

This gallant ſoldier did not reach his military deſtination; he was mortally wounded in an unfortunate engagement of the *Ranger* with a fleet of *Mahrattah* pi-

rates, commanded by *Anandrow*, on the 8th of April, 1783.

The above ſtatements of military eſtabliſhments at different periods, and the anecdotes of detached ſervices, may be ſufficient to give an idea of the neceſſity of a general plan and control in the military as well as in the civil department: the concluſion is incontrovertible; a proportion of territory equal to defray the military eſtabliſhments of the principal poſſeſſions is now under the abſolute dominion of the *Engliſh*, and may be properly called *Britiſh India*. It is impoſſible to adopt the opinions of men without aſcertaining the views by which they have been biaſed. We may read opinions from *Bombay* in 1784, and may be encouraged to remove the ſupreme government to that inſulated corner, as the beſt point from whence the military ſtrength of *Britiſh India* might enter on offenſive operations againſt its probable enemies. The Government of *Madras*, under a very military adminiſtration*, with more propriety, urged the

* Sir *A. Campbel.*

greater portion of defence to be ſtationed under that Government: and Mr. *Haſtings*, from his experience of the reſources of *Bengal*, and of the unmerciful drains on it from the other Preſidencies, with much plauſibility, might think the defence of *Bengal* the only rational object, as being the only poſſeſſion, in his opinion, worth either the charge or hazard of its defence; and he might even prefer the claims of *Bombay* to thoſe of *Madras*. The late increaſe of territory is important from the increaſe of revenue, but much more ſo from the relation which the *Engliſh* now bear to the natives: it is not by ſecret, but by avowed, influence that it can become profitable to them both; the preſent queſtion is not in what manner new conqueſts are to be made, but how the preſent poſſeſſions are to be preſerved: a judicious economy will alone enable us to be reſpectable from our ſtrength, and to be juſt. To connect this empire, a variation in diſtribution of the ſeats of Government may perhaps prove beneficial. The Government of *Bombay* does not ſeem to require a degree of political or financial

conſideration beyond the maintenance of its port and arſenal, and the commercial adventurers for which its ſituation is adapted; the protection of the coaſt againſt *Mahrattah* pirates ſhould be the extent and object of its naval equipments; and the defence of the ſettlement ſhould be the rule for its military eſtabliſhment. Any attack on the *Mahrattahs* from *Bombay*, without native allies to provide ſupplies and carriage, would be abſurd; the fate of General *Carnac*'s army muſt ever attend ſimilar attempts. The coaſt of *Malabar* belonging to the *Engliſh* being ſouth of *Mount Delhi*, an eſtabliſhment at *Baliampatam* would be the beſt ſituation to promote the trade, and to ſupport the moſt advanced *Britiſh* ally, the *Corgee Rajah*. The climate about *Tillicherry* is reckoned the *Montpellier* of the *Malabar* coaſt; and the troops neceſſary for the ſouthern part of the peninſula from *Mount Delhi* would be better under the *Madras* than under the *Bombay* Government; the fort of *Palagatcherry*, in ſuch caſe, would be the center of communication between the two coaſts: it was an overſight not to have made the

connection of the two coasts in this line more complete.

A new government might be established at *Massulipatam* to manage the northern *Circars*; and the best advanced post might be selected, whether at *Condapillee*, or other more northern station, the defence of which the allies might entrust to the *English*, would render the guarantee of *Great Britain* effective to protect them. *Cuttack*, which I cannot find to have been excepted in the *Mogul*'s grant, but to have been alienated by the *Soubah* of *Bengal* to get rid of the invasion of the *Mahrattah* chief, may probably, by negociation, be obtained from the *Berar* chief, whose interests are connected with the *English*, whether we consider his relation to the *Mahrattah* confederacy or to the *Nizam*: it need not follow that we should launch into the political schemes of aggrandizement of native princes, when the circumstances of the contracting parties render a mutual guarantee of *uti possidetis* a most desirable situation. The Governor General might execute the functions of his office

from either government without deranging the reſpective eſtabliſhments; an extra table for the Governor General, ſhould be the only neceſſary expence during the occaſional reſidence, and the permanent ſeat of the Supreme Board would connect the whole ſyſtem of income and expenditure.

There are two ſources of miſery which the Commiſſioners under the preſent act ſhould avert from *Britiſh India*, the juriſdiction with *Engliſh* forms, and the military progreſs againſt natives, whom the miſmanagement of *Europeans* or *Mahomedan* ſovereigns force to carry the pike. We are told*, that until Lord *Macartney* aſſumed the management of the *Carnatic*, "nothing was definite, nothing concluded; partial payments were received; paſt claims were left for ſettlement; many months were waſted in fitting out an expedition; and ſtill more in performing ſlight ſervices. During the whole period of protraction, the *Renter*, the *Amildar*, the *Fouzdar*, and the *European* commander, were reaping the

* View of the *Engliſh* intereſts in *India*, p. 137.

harveſt of corruption, and ſowing an after-growth of peculation. The *Polygars* are ſubtle and acute; they took advantage of ſo corrupt a ſyſtem, and notwithſtanding their internal feuds, they united againſt a common invader. They adminiſtered to the avarice of their opponent by bribes, and to his paſſion for command by procraſtination: thus the province was impaired, its cultivation failed, its manufactures diminiſhed; every new collector and commander entailed new evils, and taught the *Polygars* to conſider their *Peſhcuſh* not as a juſt tribute to their ſovereign, but as a price to purchaſe the forbearance of oppreſſors."

It would be fortunate if every commander would feel and act on the ſentiments which Colonel *Fullarton* ſo well expreſſed; but it is not on the accidental good principle of a commander that the *Polygars* ſhould depend. The *Polygar* having never experienced juſtice and moderation, if he ſhould hear that *Mahomed Iſſoof Cawn* had ſaid, "let the *Polygars* become *Zemindars*, and cultivate their own lands, inſtead of

plundering their induſtrious neighbours, then they ſhall be cheriſhed; but while their habit is idleneſs, and their buſineſs devaſtation, I will treat every one as a public enemy who wields a pike or wears the turban of a *Polygar*;" ſhould he hear that the *Engliſh* chief obſerved, on comparing the ſtate of that country with the conduct and remark of *Mahomed*, "I found that wiſdom, vigour, and integrity were never more conſpicuous in any perſon, of whatever climate or complexion;" might not the *Polygar* anſwer, "have we not fallen back from the plain, and cleared, for the ſupport of a diminiſhed race, lands which, under one protector, might afford a tribute for protection? Do we not ſee the *Pollams* of the plain deſtroyed by the impolicy of armed Collectors, which uſed to protect the peaſantry from the maſſacre of an invading enemy, and enabled them to feed the forces that protected them? Do you not witneſs the wretched inhabitants flying for protection under the walls of your fortreſs, devoted to famine, or driven in herds to inhabit and cultivate the table land of the tyrant *Hyder*? Can you approve the de-

nounced warfare againſt our race becauſe we protect our families againſt injuſtice? Give us the bleſſing of a juſt government; regulate the tribute in juſt proportion to our means, and chearfully will the pike fall from our hands, and with thankfulneſs will we promote the cultivation of the country." If this wretched warfare ſtill continues, and the *Britiſh* arms reek with the blood of tributaries, which I know they do, I truſt, for the honour of *Britiſh* influence, that the fair experiment of amicable arrangement has in every inſtance preceded the meaſures of rigour.

It is neceſſary to enter farther into the ſubject of the proper conſtitution of the army for *Britiſh India*; the importance of draft bullocks and of cavalry is unqueſtioned; the means by which *Tippoo* enſures a ſupply of each appears by his regulations. The *Britiſh* Government has not even aſcertained in what manner the *Soubah* of *Bengal* maintained his cavalry: the weſtern ſide of the *Doab*, which uſed to afford paſturage to a ſtud of the provinces, by the charge *Scindia* has taken of the *Mogul*,

may now raiſe the remount of an hoſtile cavalry. The idea of *Britiſh* protection of fairs or markets from the extortion of Governors and *Zemindars*, has not yet invited the horſe dealers of the interior part of *India* to conſider, as in ancient periods, the markets of the peninſula, and of the *Soubah* of *Bengal*, to be acceſſible to their trade. It has been a ſubject of diſcuſſion, whether natives are truſt worthy. The pay, the appointments, and the juſtice of *Great Britain* entitle it to be the preferable ſervice: deſertions have not been ſo frequent as they might have been expected under the difficulties of ſervice and the irregularity of pay; they have contributed little to the diſcipline of the enemy in compariſon to the immediate ſervice of the *French* and *Europeans* in *Tippoo*'s pay. The re-eſtabliſhing villages with boundary fences in the *Carnatic*, would protect the natives againſt irregular incurſions and depredation; and in the provinces the regular plan of villages might contribute to health and ſafety: a regular limited ſervice, and invalid ſettlements for the different corps, at proper ſtations, combined

with the wiſe regulations of a continual ſucceſſion of the children of the ſoldiers in the ſepoy battalions, will give proper and ſufficient connection and attachment to the *Britiſh* ſervice. The competitors for power, during many years, exiſted by the plunder of treaſures, the accumulation of powerful ſovereigns. The countries of *India* now are reduced to their actual annual reſources, and the temptation to rival *Great Britain*, in a great degree ceaſes, for the acquiſition of ſovereignty would coſt any rival *European* nation more treaſure than the conqueſt would repay; and under a wiſe management, the advantages of trade might be granted and guaranteed under the protection of *Great Britain*, and become more profitable to *European* nations, than by the maintenance of independent ſettlements; they ſhould be admitted to enjoy the freedom of trade on *a par* with *Britiſh* ſubjects, only when they renounced their pretenſion to ſovereignty in *Britiſh India*: a regulation which now depends on *Great Britain*.

If any example from the hiſtory of the natives ſhould be required to warn us from

unneceſſary extenſion of warfare, we might refer to the example of the *Mahrattahs*, who, on the decline of the *Mogul* empire, having enriched themſelves by depredatory excurſions in *Hindoſtan* and in the *Decan*, extended their ambition to become the ſovereigns of *India*, as *Buſſy* had foreſeen. *Bala Row*, who ſat on the *Muſnud* of the *Mahrattah* government in the *Decan*, fitted out an expedition for completing the conqueſt of *Hindoſtan*, under the ſupreme command of *Raghunaut Row*, in 1760: *Mulhar Row Hulkur*, *Junkoogee Scindia*, and other chiefs, with their forces, acted under his orders. They compelled *Ahmed Shah Durrany* to repaſs the *Attock*, and kept poſſeſſion of the country on the eaſt of the *Attock*; but the army falling in arrears, they were obliged to return to the *Decan*, and it appeared that a debt of 88 lacks was due to the army; ſo much had the expences exceeded all the collection of tribute, *peſhcuſh*, &c. On being reprimanded by the *Bhow* for bringing home debts inſtead of an increaſe of wealth, *Raghunaut Row* deſired the *Bhow* to try his own ſkill, and ſee what advantage he could

make of it. The conqueſt was ſo much the object of ambition to the *Mahrattahs*, that the *Bhow* convened the forces of the *Mahrattahs* and their tributaries, together amounting to 55,000 horſe, 15,000 foot, beſides the garriſon of *Delhi*, about 24,000 men.

The *Duranny* army conſiſted of 41,800 horſe and 38,000 infantry, with 70 or 80 pieces of cannon. The camp followers in *Indian* armies may be reckoned as three to one of the military. The conflict of this great armament, in January, 1761, terminated in the complete defeat of the *Mahrattahs*, by the battle of *Paniput*; a detailed narrative of which, tranſlated from the original of *Caſi Rajah Pundit*, who was preſent, forms an intereſting article in the Aſiatic Reſearches *.

* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. III. p. 91.

## CHAP. XIX.

*On the Conſiſtancy of parliamentary Vigilance, and Aſſertion of the Rights of the Crown to the Sovereignty of* Britiſh India.

FROM the peruſal of Mr. *Ruſſell*'s Diſſertation on the Rights of the Company, we might conclude, that the conqueſt of *Bengal*, in 1765, tempted Parliament to infringe the rights of the Company. He expreſſes himſelf as follows: "Nor, from the firſt erection of the Company by Queen *Elizabeth*, till the accidental conqueſt of *Bengal*, had the right of the Company been called in queſtion to acquire, by any means they could deviſe, ſettlement, territory, or other property in *India* for their own benefit. It was the magnitude of that conqueſt which firſt excited public attention; and a general maxim of law, of which, perhaps, no inſtance or occaſion for its being exerted, or acted upon, had

happened for centuries, if ever, in this kingdom, was now enforced by Parliament, with a ſaving, however, of rights, ſo as to leave the queſtion open to litigation at ſome future period *."

This having been nearly the late opinion of perſons high in office, and the ſituation of Mr. *Ruſſell*, giving to his opinion, in a degree, the ſanction of official authority, I ſhall ſhortly reviſe the declared opinions of Parliament; and if, at the interval of a century, no inconſiſtency or dereliction of right ſhall appear; the propriety of giving to a general ſaving clauſe of rights a conſtructive extent, tantamount to an admiſſion of the independant right, and of progreſſively extending the claims of the Company, when the equitable deciſions of Parliament ſuperſeded the neceſſity of queſtions of ſpeculative foundation and dangerous tendancy, will be more fairly conſidered, than by any more general refutation which I could offer.

* Short Hiſtory, p. 57.

In 1698*, "the *Eaſt-India* trade, which had been many years depending, and was looked on as ſo nice and difficult, that it had been referred to the King and his Council, and back again by them to the Parliament," was ſettled. The claims of the Old *Eaſt-India* Company, almoſt the ſame now adduced, were ſupported by the *Tories*; and the rights of the public were then aſſerted by the *Whigs*, who ſupported the new ſubſcribers†, and produced the proviſoes, in the King's Charter, in evidence, that the King had not granted to the extent of the Company's claims, but, on the contrary, that Parliament had reſolved, in 1691, "that it was lawful for all perſons to trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, unleſs reſtrained by act of Parliament; and that the King's meſſage to the Houſe, in 1692, plainly ſignified, that the concurrence of Parliament was requiſite for making a complete and uſeful ſettlement of the *Eaſt-India* trade." His Majeſty having commanded a Committee of his Privy

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† *Anderſon's* Hiſtory of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 221.

Council to prepare regulations for the trade of the Old Company, all the material particulars had been rejected by them; and his Majeſty finding that what was requiſite could not be perfected by his own authority alone, and that the concurrence of Parliament was requiſite to make a complete and uſeful ſettlement of this trade, he had directed all the proceedings to be laid before them *, "that it was never eſteemed a breach of faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the *Great Seal*, nor from the honour of our Kings, to have their patents annulled by Parliament, when it appeared that ſuch grants were either unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the ſubject; neither did any Kings think themſelves bound, in honour or conſcience, to refuſe paſſing an act of Parliament for annulling ſuch grants: that, moreover, Kings having often been deceived in ſuch grants, they have been frequently annulled by the ordinary courſe of law." In purſuance of theſe, among other reaſonings, the Houſe came to 9

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

reſolutions, which were firſt tendered to the Old Company *, but were rejected by them; and an act was then paſſed in favour of the general ſociety of traders to the *Eaſt Indies*; notwithſtanding, the "reaſonable doubt of the Proteſting Lords †, whether the ſeparate trade, allowed in this bill, concurrent with a joint ſtock, may not prove ſo inconſiſtent as to diſcourage the ſubſcription from ever coming to a million." The regulations were ſo much approved by the public, that two million ſterling were ſubſcribed in three days. Mr. *Anderſon* drew ſome "important reflections on this law, and on the bleſſings of the free conſtitution ſince the eſtabliſhment of King *William*, and the ever-excellent law, called the Declaration of Rights ‡." I ſhall only farther obſerve, that, in my private opinion, the reſolutions, on which that act was founded, appear politic and juſt, and to be more adequate to the encouragement of adventure, than the private agency of the

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† Lords' Proteſt, July 1, 1698.

‡ *Anderſon*'s Hiſtory of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 223.

Company to the privilege of private trade, by the preſent act; and the 5 *per cent.* payable to the Company, under the regulations of the act of 1698*, to be more eligible than the 3 *per cent.* duty ſubject to the limitations of the act of 1793†.

The preſent act has extended to private perſons the benefit of the *Eaſt-India* trade, under regulations conſiſtent with thoſe of the act of King *William*: wherefore, the regulations, by that act affecting the ſeparate traders, now apply to the private traders. The combined adventurers being ſubject to the legal control of the commiſ-

* 9 and 10 *Will.* III., c. 44, ſec. 69, 76. 6 *Anne*, c. 3. 5 *Geo.* I., c. 21, ſec. 9. 7 *Geo.* I., c. 21, ſec. 9.

† Vide page 117.

N. B. Examine theſe ſtatutes, as well as the abſtract, of the preſent act, which I conſider to be, in general, correct, it having been printed correctly from one of the copies, circulated by the Board of Control among the Peers of Parliament, after the bill had paſſed the Commons. Since I ſaw Mr. *Ruſſell*'s Second Edition, I ſuppoſe it to be compiled by the *Solicitor* of the *Board* of *Control*, for he alſo has given it as an appendix to that Edition of his *Short Hiſtory* of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

ſioners each year, the important clauſe in the act, 1698, I ſuppoſe to be in full force: it is as follows:

* "That no company, or particular perſon or perſons, who ſhall have a right, in purſuance of this act, to trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, or other parts within the limits aforeſaid, ſhall be allowed to trade thither until ſufficient ſecurity be firſt given, that ſuch company, or particular perſons, ſhall cauſe all the goods, &c., in any ſhip or ſhips whatſoever, bound from the *Eaſt Indies*, to be brought, without breaking bulk, to ſome port of *England* or *Wales*, and there be unladen and put on land; and in caſe there ſhall be difficulty in the acceptance of ſuch ſecurity, it ſhall, and may, be determined by the Lord Chief Baron, or Barons of the Coif of the Exchequer, or any of them, according to his or their beſt judgement and diſcretion; and that all goods or marchandize, ſo imported from the *Eaſt Indies* into *England* or *Wales*, ſhall be ſold openly and publicly, by inch of

* 9 and 10 *William* III. ſec. 79.

candle, upon their reſpective accounts; and not otherwiſe, upon pain, that the ſame ſhall be forfeited and loſt; one moiety thereof to his Majeſty, and the other moiety to any perſon or perſons that will ſeiſe and ſue for the ſame, by action of bill, plaint, or information, as aforeſaid."

It will not be neceſſary to enter farther on the principle and regulations of the act, 1698. I have already conſidered curſorily the principle of the act, 1793, relative to trade, in the preceding pages *. The Old Company ſubſcribed largely to the new fund, and ſoon coaleſced with the New Company; and by act of Parliament were formed into the Company of united merchants, trading excluſively on a joint ſtock, and on the united privileges of the two charters.

The proceedings of Parliament, connected with the period, particularly examined in the preceding pages, were as follow:

* Introduction, p. xli.

So early as 1757, the Company petitioned the *King* to be permitted to hold and enjoy, ſubject to his Majeſty's Sovereignty therein, all fortreſſes, diſtricts, and territories, as they had already acquired, or might acquire from any nation, ſtate, or people, by treaty, grant, or conqueſt.

His Majeſty granted the *booty* and *plunder*; and he was adviſed by his Attorney and Solicitor General, the late Chancellor *Yorke*, and the preſent Earl *Camden*, "that it is not warranted by precedent, nor agreeable to ſound policy, nor to the *tenor of the charter*, which have been laid before us, to make ſuch general grant, not only of paſt, but of future contingent conqueſts, made upon any power, *European* or *Indian*, to a trading company*."

The firſt act for appropriating *territorial revenues* of *India*, was in 1766. It was conſidered as a new kind of money bill, not being founded upon any reſolutions of

* Mr. *Ruſſell*'s Short Hiſtory, p. 11. Appendix to Vol. I. *Bolt*'s Hiſtory for the Report and Petition.

the Committees of ſupply, or of ways and means *: whereby it avoided the objection ſtated in the ſecond article of the Lords' proteſts, in 1698, that the *Eaſt-India* ſubſcription had been introduced as a ſupply of two millions, by which the Commons included the regulation of the *Eaſt-India* trade, to which the Lords were not denied to have an equal right of judgement and freedom of vote, with the privileges claimed by the Commons, as to ſupply and monied bills †. The *Eaſt-India* buſineſs was introduced into the Houſe on November 25, 1765. The acts of 9 and 10, King *William* III. c. 24., and 7, *George* I. c. 21. were, on motion, read to the Houſe, and a committee of the whole Houſe appointed to ſit on that day fortnight; this inquiry gave riſe to the new money bill. The Committee had proceeded in their inquiry, when, at laſt, on the 20th of May, 1766, the *Eaſt-India* Company preſented a petition, praying the aid of Parliament to give powers to control their ſervants, and to

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XX. p. 279.

† Lords' Proteſts, July 1, 1698.

apply the territorial revenues to the diſcharge of the civil and military eſtabliſhments, charges of fortifications, buildings, and repairs; and to ſanction an agreement in behalf of the ſtate, viz. 400,000 out of the profits of their trade, and the reſidue of the territorial revenue; the net ſurplus to be divided with the public; the agreement to take place from February, 1767, and 3 laſt years, "provided the *Dewannee* of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*, ſhall remain in the Company's hands." The Company introduced their petition to Parliament, not as claimants of territory, but as a commercial company, their proper deſcription in Parliament; they prayed not only leave to extend their commerce, by inveſting the landed revenue in the produce of the country, and to be protected againſt their own ſervants by reſtrictions againſt ſmuggling, but alſo requeſted that inland duties of *Great Britain* be modified to give every advantage to a commerce, in which the public, not only individually, but collectively, as a nation, would, under ſuch agreement, participate.

The House came to four resolutions on the eight propositions of the Company.

1. That it would be of mutual benefit to the public and the *East-India* Company, "that a temporal agreement be made, in regard to the territorial revenues lately obtained in *India*.

2. That the agreement continue for 3 years from February 1, 1767.

3. "That the said acquisitions and revenues do remain in possession of the Company during the continuance of such agreement, and that the Company do pay the public annually, during the said term, the sum of 400,000l."

4. That it will be necessary, for the purpose of extending the trade, to grant drawbacks, &c.

The three first resolutions were adopted nem. con., and a bill was ordered to be brought in upon them; the fourth was referred to a Committee of Ways and Means.

This queſtion was fully diſcuſſed in Parliament the 9th of March, 1773*; Lord *North* preſented papers containing letters between Mr. Secretary *Pitt* and Monſ. *Buſſy*, to explain the ſentiments of the *Britiſh* and *French* Courts reſpecting the territorial acquiſitions in *India*. Mr. *Dowdeſwell* produced an extract of a foreign diſpatch, from which he argued, that, as far as the ſentiments of the Crown could be collected, the Company was underſtood to have excluſive right to the territories it poſſeſſed, whether acquired by conqueſt or otherwiſe. The Houſe, without a diviſion, adopted the motion to *aid* and *control* the Company.

The queſtion of the Company's right was again debated the 23d of March, when Lord *North* moved, that the dividends of the Company ſhould be limited to 8 *per cent.* until the participation between the public and the Company ſhould take place. Mr. *Ruſſell*'s argument was then adduced againſt the right of the ſtate generally, that

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 241.

the Company's territorial poſſeſſions were held by *grant under office*, and not by conqueſt*; and this Mr. *Burke* contended, and went ſo far as to ſay, that no lawyer had ventured poſitively to aſſert that, even had they been all gained by conqueſt, the Crown had a right to them; which Sir *Fletcher Norton* denied, and read to the Houſe three opinions, expreſsly affirming the right of the Crown to the *Eaſt-India* Company's territorial poſſeſſions; and he alſo adduced his own opinion in ſupport of the motion. On the 5th of April, Lord *North* informed the Houſe that, in anſwer to the petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company, the King left the ſole determination to the Houſe of Commons; and he moved the propoſition to let the territorial acquiſitions remain in the poſſeſſion of the Company for a limited time, to reduce the Company's debt to £.1,500,000, and then three fourth of the net ſurplus of the revenue to be paid into the Exchequer, and one fourth to diſcharge the contingent

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 255.

exigences of the Company*, which paſſed; and on the 10th of April the Houſe came to three diſtinct reſolutions:

1. That all acquiſitions made under the influence of military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the ſtate.

2. That to appropriate acquiſitions, acquired under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, to private uſe, is illegal.

3. That great ſums of money have been obtained by ſuch means from the ſovereign Princes in *India*.

The third reſolution, leading to condemnation of the Company's ſervants, occaſioned a debate; but the three reſolutions paſſed.

On the 19th of April, a reſolution againſt Lord *Clive* revived the debate; the Solici-

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 261.

tor General, the preſent Lord Chancellor, *Loughborough*, very ably and honourably reſiſted the conviction of reſpectable men, on the reſolution of the Select Committee, appointed to examine and report the ſtate of the *Eaſt-India* Company's affairs, and not to judge delinquents. Thoſe who heard Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech on that occaſion, felt the power of that ſpecies of oratory which is the effuſion of a dignified mind on a critical occaſion: the Houſe unanimouſly voted a reſolution teſtifying their acknowledgement of the great and meritorious ſervices of Lord *Clive*.

Mr. *Ruſſell*, not ſatisfied with one equitable principle and moderate rule of participation, continued, from 1766 to 1793, by different acts; when the act of this year was under conſideration, as an *Eaſt-India* proprietor, and ſoon after the paſſing of the act, in his own perſon reſpectable in private and official character, maintained diſtinctions exploded in the laſt century, reſting much on the ſaid opinion of the year 1757, "that the property of the ſoil may be veſted in the Company by *Indian*

grants;" and ſeems to forget the end of the ſentence, "ſubject only to your Majeſty's right of ſovereignty over the ſettlements as *Engliſh ſettlements:*" and he ſeems to have overlooked the proceeding in Parliament, though he quotes part of the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons in 1773. I could not more attentively to Mr. *Ruſſell* purſue this diſcuſſion and controvert his data, than by adducing parliamentary opinions; and the degree of importance I annex to the inveſtigation, ariſes from my conviction that the control of Parliament will be adequate to its object, if it will not ſuffer the conſtitutional rights of the ſovereign to be eluded by nominal government and fictitious titles, or by political veils continued beyond the period of political neceſſity; and that the rights and property of the ſubject in *Britiſh India* will continue to be violated, and remain inſecure, until the rights of the Crown and of the public are defined, avowed, and aſſerted.

Various acts of Parliament have continued, in principle and ſubſtance, this equitable

modification for the management of *India*, and for the participation of its reſources to the advancement of the political and commercial intereſts of *Great Britain*, to the preſent year. Great as the conteſts were in 1783 and 4, on the final ſettlement of an effective control, the opinion of both parties coincided in the neceſſity of a ſtrong reſponſible government; and notwithſtanding Mr. *Fox*'s bills were made the oſtenſible objects of attack, by which the coalition adminiſtration was overturned, the bills propoſed by Mr. *Pitt* did not omit any eſſential principle of ſtrong and effective control; although they were modified and applied in a judicious manner, to avoid the popular prejudices and alarms which had been excited.

The bill propoſed by Mr. *Fox*, for the better government of the territorial poſſeſſions and dependencies in *India*, contained expreſs clauſes to protect the natives; they ſtruck directly at great and marked practices of oppreſſion, and would have prevented their continuance or repetition, under the ſame modifications in which the

abuſe had appeared flagrant on the records of Parliament; the rights of the ſtate, and of the ſubject, however, were not ſufficiently aſcertained to be accurately defined; and it is obvious how eaſy and infinite the evaſions would have continued in *India*, until regulations had been made critically accurate. In this point of view, therefore, the rights of the natives ought to have acquired certain and equitable definition ſooner under Mr. *Pitt*'s bill than by the operation of Mr. *Fox*'s bill; becauſe it did not proceed to lay down the abſolute rule on incorrect documents, but preſcribed accurate inveſtigation on the ſpot, previous to the declaration of the rights of perſons, or the remedy for abuſes. I cannot explain the ſingular concurrence of two plans and inveſtigations, before mentioned *, to give effect to Mr. *Pitt*'s bill, in any other manner than that enacting clauſes of Mr. *Fox*'s bill, providing againſt known and acknowledged oppreſſion, gained due preference in the then inexperienced Board of Control, to the inveſtigations of a new Governor

* Vide page 384.

General and of his *European Seriſhtadar*: and the ſanction of that bill was no inconſiderable ſupport to the opinion which Mr. *Francis* had maintained on the ſubject of the ſettlement of *India*. It is therefore not paradoxical to ſay, that both the bills of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Fox* have been applied to *Britiſh India*; if they had not, the opinions of Mr. *Shore* and of Mr. *Rouſe* could not have coincided with Mr. *Francis*. But the comparative ſtatement of theſe bills by Mr. *Sheridan**, and an accurate review of the bills themſelves†, will ſhew the power in both bills nearly equal; and that ſo far as the definition of perſonal rights, and the relation of natives to the *Britiſh* Government were enacted by Mr. *Fox*'s bill, they have been adopted, and found erroneous. But it muſt alſo be remembered that a definition of perſons is a matter of fact, and not of opinion, and that the fact has been ſo artificially involved in

* Comparative Statement of the two Bills, &c. with explanatory obſervations by *R. B. Sheridan*, Eſq. *Debrett*, 1788.

† Vide Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXX. p. 316, copies of Mr. *Fox* and Mr. *Pitt*'s *Eaſt-India* Bills.

myſtery, that until the *Moccurrery* plan had failed, even the inveſtigation and aſſertion of the *Seriſhtadar*, ſupported by the native records of *India*, were diſregarded, and the period of ſettling a permanent ſyſtem, to meet the expiration of the Company's charter, arrived before it was in the power of the King's Miniſters to lay before Parliament an accurate detail of a ſyſtem, in all its parts, applicable to *Britiſh India*, or ſufficiently correct to be recommended for its internal government, under the ſanction of Parliament; and it ſtill requires much political ſagacity to gueſs the period when it will be ſafe and prudent to guarantee the permanency of internal *Britiſh* adminiſtration: but Parliament ſhould recollect how imperfect even the charter of the natives of *India* appears on the ſtatutes*; without ſerious examination it cannot guarrantee nor confirm the meaſures of the Commiſſioners to aſcertain and define the rights and cuſtoms of the natives. I hope the preſent act will prove the æra of intelligible ſyſtem: the King's

* Vide page 135.

commiſſion extended to the army in *India*; ſpecie coined in the King of *England*'s name ſhould be ſanctioned by Parliament, and announced by the *King*'s *Britiſh India*; and to *India* in general; that it may be known, from the higheſt executive authority, that the honour of the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain* guarantee a juſt adminiſtration of the Company in its ſeveral governments; and that all ſovereigns, the allies, and other chiefs and natives, the ſubjects to *Britiſh India*, who, by ſubſidy or tribute, ſhall diſcharge their ſtipulations with good faith to the *Britiſh* Government, ſhall be protected in their lives, properties, cuſtoms, and religion, not only againſt *Britiſh*, but native tyranny and oppreſſion, to the utmoſt extent which a ſincere and well-intentioned direction of the legiſlative and executive authority of *Great Britain* ſhall be able to enforce.

## CHAP. XX.

*On the laſt provincial Reform in* India.

AN extract from a *Calcutta* Gazette, of Friday, the 29th of March, 1793, has juſt announced an entire new plan of revenue collection and judicature, to take place in the new *Bengaleſe* year, beginning in *April* laſt.

Provincial Courts of Appeal are eſtabliſhed in the following cities:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At *Moorſhedabad*, | In each | 3 Judges, |
| At *Dacca*, | | 1 Regiſter, |
| At *Patna*, | | 1 Aſſiſtant. |

Excluſive of one city Judge and one Regiſter. At *Calcutta* a fourth Court of Appeal independent of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Twenty-three collections, or diſtricts, are to form the revenue diviſion of the *Bengal* provinces; in each, one Collector,

one Judge, and one Regiſter of the *Killah* Court; and in ſix of the collections an aſſiſtant Collector is allowed.

The Collector, with a fixed ſalary, is to collect.

The Judge, with a ſalary and commiſſion on the collection of the revenues of the diſtrict, is to adminiſter juſtice in the *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adaulet* Courts.

Appeals from the *Killah* Courts are open to the *City* Courts, in all caſes whatſoever; and appeals from the *City* Courts to the Governor General in council are allowed in all caſes exceeding 500 rupees.

Beſides this, I hear that every 20 miles ſquare is to form a diſtrict, in which natives, with a ſalary, are to be appointed to preſide over the police of the diſtrict, at the charge of the natives.

When the minute of Marquis *Cornwallis*, and farther particulars ſhall arrive,

the meaſure may be better underſtood: I only give the above outline of it as a ſupplement to what I before ſtated *. Inſtead of the amended code in 1793, which I conſidered to be inevitable, a complete new official arrangement has appeared; it opens a dawn of hope that a ſyſtem of juſt adminiſtration will ariſe in *Britiſh India*, but it requires not only the good intention, but the high authority, of Lord *Cornwallis* to correct and eſtabliſh it. If other modern incumbrances of *Britiſh* management are fairly removed, and native rights equitably defined, a modification of the preſent plan may become adequate to the protection of the natives and to the improvement of the revenue; but if this laudable and bold meaſure, which, unfortunately, will almoſt bear date with the departure of Lord *Cornwallis*, is meant to go no farther than to ſeparate the collection from the judicial proceſs in revenue cauſes, leaving the native civil and criminal juriſdiction, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, in vigour, it is eaſy to foreſee that ba-

* Vide page 448.

lances, with multiplied and complex proceſs, will continue, and that the Collectors will deduce, plauſibly and truely, as far as relates to the revenue, the new labyrinth of confuſion to ariſe from their loſs of power.

It will hardly eſcape Lord *Cornwallis*'s obſervation, when he reflects on Sir *John Shore*'s minute in 1789, and the 77,000 cauſes which were undecided in December, 1791 *, that a ſacred regiſter of lands, aſcertained by actual meaſurement, ſuch as I have ſhewn the *Canongoe* regiſter to have been, of itſelf will prove the ſimpleſt evidence of rights; and that a well-digeſted code of civil and criminal judicature, will render the native *Fougedarry*, *Adaulet*, and *Kutcherry* juriſdiction ſimple and intelligible. Whether the diviſions are called diſtricts or *Chucklahs*, or any other name, conſidering how very great a proportion of the native cauſes are connected with the revenue, it may alſo occur to Lord *Cornwallis* that the above-ſtated eſtabliſhment

* Vide page 447.

might be applied, and anſwer all the purpoſes of good government. In towns a police office muſt be vigorous, in proportion to the complicated irregularity of luxury and mixed population; but I need not ſpeculate ſo far, for, I venture to predict, if the new arrrangement is not perfected by Lord *Cornwallis*, or by *as powerful* and *honeſt* hands, this fair beginning will vaniſh; in which caſe, he muſt be a bold man who will again begin freſh experiments of a neceſſary practical reform.

If the various points of view in which I have ſhewn the neceſſity of aſcertaining the real circumſtances and relation of the natives to their *Britiſh* Sovereign may appear to be ſuperſeded by this late reform, I will once more attempt to ſhew that, notwithſtanding the revenue department, at this time diſtinct in its collection from its judicial function, will becõme, in fact and in form, more correct, it will not render the diſtricts ſufficiently compact, nor make the conſtant reference and appeal of the ſubject to the Magiſtrate in his *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adaulet* juriſ-

diction, matter of accommodation to the *Reyuts*, if they are to have any rights; nor to *Zemindars*, if they are to be rendered opulent by devoting the *Pottah*-holder or *Reyut* to abſolute vaſſalage. The neglect of actual meaſurement of lands, of regiſtry, and of equitable participation of the crops, bears equal date with the *Britiſh* revenue adminiſtration, and will ſtill exiſt; and the definition of perſons and things are ſtill erroneous and impolitic.

In 1766, the *Bengal* Government informed the Directors, "our proceedings point out to you the increaſe of your rents iſſuing from the *Calcutta lands*, and the proſpect we have of rating them ſtill higher, without exaction or oppreſſion. It evidently appears to us that great frauds were formerly committed in theſe collections; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leaſes granted to the preſent farmers ſhall expire on the 1ſt of September next; by that time we hope to aſcertain the value exactly, at leaſt we ſhall then ſilence the clamour of the inhabitants againſt what they deem a *mo-*

*nopoly*, by univerſally *diffuſing* and *extending* the benefit ariſing from the poſſeſſion of lands among the moſt ſubſtantial and reſpectable *Banyans* and *black merchants* living under your protection *."

In conſequence of this determination, the ancient land-holders were diſplaced to make way for a new claſs of renters, and the private ſpeculations of the Company's ſervants, through the medium of their *Banyans*, extended to the produce of the land. The calamities of a famine were haſtened by the ſtored grain of private men, unlike the granaries of the *Hindoos*, not being at the diſpoſal of a wiſe adminiſtration to avert or ſoften the tropical calamities occaſionally incident to the country. The *Shroffs* and *Banyans* derived their profit from public diſtreſs; and it does not appear that the profits of their *Chriſtian* principals were relinquiſhed to the call of humanity.

* Reports, Vol. I. Appendix, No. 46. Letter from Select Committee, *Fort William*, Jan. 31, 1766.

With the famine of the year 1770 the *farming* ſyſtem under native agency cloſed; the *ſubſidiary* ſyſtem under *Britiſh* agency did not revert to equitable management, nor to any better protection of the rights of the tenantry, the *Reyuts*, nor of the *Zemindars*.

Official reports, taken by contraſting the *Bengal* provinces, for many years paſt free from the devaſtations of fire and the ſword, with the *Carnatic*, the ſcene of continued warfare, or with the neighbouring ſtates, the ſcene of anarchy and warfare incident to unſettled governments, have been the foundation of aſſertions*, "that *Britiſh India* is in a ſtate of proſperity unknown to it under the moſt wiſe and politic of its ancient ſovereigns." And Mr. *Francis*, on many occaſions, has referred to a letter from Lord *Cornwallis*†, which plainly deſcribes, in different terms, the ſtate of the provinces.

* Mr. *Dundas*.

† Letter from Earl *Cornwallis* to the Directors, dated Auguſt 2, 1789; reprinted as an Appendix to Mr. *Francis*' Letter to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793.

" Independent of all other conſiderations, I can aſſure you that it will be of the utmoſt importance, for promoting the ſolid intereſts of the Company, that the principal land-holders and traders in the interior parts of the country ſhould be *reſtored* to ſuch circumſtances, as to enable them to ſupport their families with decency, and to give a liberal education to their children, according to the cuſtoms of their reſpective caſts and religions, that a regular gradation of ranks may be ſupported, which is no where more neceſſary than in this country, for preſerving order in civil ſociety.

" I am ſorry to be obliged to ſay, that *agriculture* and *commerce* has for many years been gradually declining; and that at preſent, excepting the claſs of *Shroffs* and *Banyans*, who reſide almoſt entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of theſe provinces *were advancing haſtily to a general ſtate of poverty and wretchedneſs.* In this deſcription I muſt even include almoſt every *Zemindar* in the Company's territories, which, though it may have been

partly occaſioned by their own indolence and extravagance, I am afraid muſt alſo be, in a great meaſure, attributed to the defects of our former ſyſtem of management."

I do not ſuppoſe Mr. *Francis* brought forward this opinion of Lord *Cornwallis*'s to eſtabliſh a concluſion correſponding to that which I deduce from it. I not only conſider the repreſentation of Lord *Cornwallis* to be the fact, but to be the natural inevitable conſequence of the financial plans of 1766, which, under different names and modifications, have continued to this day, and which Mr. *Francis*'s plan of ſettlement, in as great a degree as Sir *John Shore*'s ſyſtem, tended to perpetuate; the error has been general, but delinquency does not attach to error. It cannot be doubted Lord *Cornwallis* intended to *reſtore* the *old* landholders to comfort and competency, and to bring back opulence by protecting increaſing property.

The conſultations of Sir *John Shore* and Mr. *Law* to execute theſe beneficent pur-

poſes in the beſt manner which they deemed practicable, conſiſtently with Mr. *Francis*'s principle of ſettlement, viz. without actual meaſurement, and accurate or equalized aſſeſſment, may be collected from the explanation of the *Mocurrery* plan *. "If earthquakes or inundation, or *miſtaken* aſſeſſment, render the village inadequate to bear the land tax, the *proprietor* ſhould be at liberty to reſign." "Numerous *rich men* will take villages with even a temporary loſs, upon the proſpect of recovery by improvement †." The indifference of the revenue deparment of Government to the change of proprietors ‡ in 1789; the propoſed permanence of unequal aſſeſſment and dereliction of *Reyuts* to abſolute dependence on *Zemindars* in 1776, are only modifications of the avowed ſyſtem of 1766; and I am ſure it is very far from my intention to inſinuate that any of theſe plans were propoſed as ſcourges to the country: I only plead in behalf of

* Sketch of late Arrangements. Mr. *Shore*'s Queſtions and Mr. *Law*'s Anſwers, Feb. 5, 1789, p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 96.

‡ Ibid. p. 91.

the *Zemindars* and *Reyuts*, that theſe *Britiſh* ſyſtems were founded on error, and have a direct tendency to deſtroy the rights of different orders of natives, the preſervation of which is eſſential to the proſperity of *Britiſh India*; and until their rights and property are protected, the only rich natives will be the *Shroffs* and *Banyans*.

The eſtabliſhment of my principle is ſo far from reſting on new grounds, that its confirmation may be deduced from hiſtory: the *Romans* bore relation to *Aſia Minor* and *Egypt*, as the *Engliſh* do to *Britiſh India*. The *Jews* were to the *Roman* conquerors in the preciſe relation which the *Hindoos* ſhould be to the *Britiſh*. *Alexandria* had been ſelected by the *Macedonian* conqueror as the beſt ſcite for a new *Emporium* to his extended dominions; and the *Romans*, in their turn, joined it to their empire.

*Adrian*, in a letter to *Servianus*, obſerves, that *Alexandria** was inhabited by *Jews*,

* Civitas opulenta dives fœcunda, in qua nemo vivat otioſus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta con-

*Samaritans*, *Chriſtians*, and worſhippers of the *Egyptian* deities; and that all theſe people, notwithſtanding the diverſity of their opinions and their religious ſquabbles, in reality, worſhiped only one God, and "that God was money *." Paſſing over the particulars of ſimilitude, I ſhall ſtate, from *Joſephus*, the cauſes by which the juſtice and good intention of *Roman* adminiſtration failed in their effect. He informs us, that the *Ptolomies*, as well as the *Romans*, depended much on the management of the *Alexandrian Jews*, who had the entire charge of the river; and that the wiſeſt adminiſtration of grain in *Rome* had been transferred from *Syria* and *Alexandria*." He ſays, "if *Antiochus* plundered the tem-

ficitur: alii linyphiones ſunt: omnes certe cujuſcunque artis, et videntur et habentur. Podagroſi quod agant habent; habent cæci quod faciant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otioſi vivunt. Unus illis deus eſt, hunc Chriſtiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes: et utinam eſſet morata civitas, digna profecto ſui profunditate, quæ pro ſui magnitudine, totius Ægypti teneat principatum. Huic ego cuncta conceſſi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova ſic addidi ut præſenti gratias agerent. *Flavii Voſpiſci* Saturninus, p. 723.

* *Jortin.*

ple when in friendſhip with us, his want of money ought not to excite ridicule, the cloak by which his friends attempt to hide the impiety *." If in one inſtance "*Germanicus* was unable to meaſure out grain amply to his army, it was the fault of the ſeaſon, and not of the *Jews*." In another place *Joſephus* explains the cauſes of ſedition in that city. "The *Egyptians* crowding into *Alexandria* occaſioned its ruin; the *Jews* retained their cuſtoms; but the *Roman* people, following the *Egyptian* morals, adopted their enmities and prejudices; for the *Romans* had neither the conſtancy nor ſteadineſs of the *Macedonians*, nor the prudence of the *Greeks* †." However, to do juſtice to the *Romans*, and in anſwer to *Appion*'s reproach, that the *Jews* did not erect *ſtatues* to the *Roman* Emperors, *Joſephus* obſerves, "ſo far from being a ſubject of reproach, it ſhould be matter of praiſe, that the *Romans*, having conquered us, did not oblige us to deſert the laws of our country, but accepted ſuch honours as can be piouſly and lawfully offered. We

* *Joſephus*, p. 1369.

† Contraſt with *Carthaginians*, *Polyb.* lib. x. 33.

make ſacrifices for the *Roman* Emperors and the *Roman* people at the public expence, though, for any of our nation, we do not offer victims *."

The deſtruction of the *Alexandrian* library fifteen years after *Syria* became a *Roman* province, was a ſerious loſs to literature; and its ſecond conflagration, 688 years afterward, will always be conſidered as irreparable: but, excluſive of the erudition inveloped in the *Sanſcrit*, we may even yet hope to regain, by judicious reſearches in the *Eaſt*, many regretted works of enlightened periods.

Notwithſtanding *Mahomed*, about A. D. 612, conciliated the *Chriſtians* from policy, he affected to be the ignorant prophet † among the tribes of *Arabs* whom he converted. There was a ſpecies of poetry peculiar to theſe people, yet *Omar* deſtroyed without remorſe every veſtige of

* *Joſephus*, page 1368.

† The untaught Prophet, ignorant as he came from his mother. *Koran Sura* 7.

learning and philoſophy to cover the impoſture; when ſolicited to ſpare the library of *Alexandria*, he ſaid, if theſe writings are contrary to the doctrines of the *Koran* they are heretical, and ought to be burned; if they correſpond with it they are ſuperfluous, and he conſigned them to fire.

Letters continued to ſuffer perſecution after the *Mahomedan* government became monarchical and the family of *Ommiyah* prevailed; but when the *Abbaſids* dethroned them, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the black garment, the *Fatamites* retained the white veſt, and eſteemed them heretics. Even in the reign of the *Abbaſid Kalifs*, A. D. 780, great reſpect was paid to learned *Chriſtians* who were ſkilled in the *Arabeſque*, and to the *Arabs* who were verſed in the old poets before *Mahomed*. One of the ancient bards is ſaid to have been able to repeat 100,000 verſes*: and the learned *Renaudot* ſays, the rules by which they were made, are as hard as the *Greek* and *Latin*, which they ſeem un-

* *Jafar*, ſon of *Abdullah*, ob. A. D. 384. *Abulfeda*, Hiſt. *Ægypt.*

acquainted with *; and the *Abbaſid* race of *Kaliſs* ordered moſt of the *Greek* books to be tranſlated into *Arabic*, the benefit of which was not limited to the *Arabs*. The *Jews* of *Spain* in general knew *Arabic*, and many aſtronomical books were tranſlated into *Hebrew*. The *Ilakanian* tables, ordered to be made by *Ulug Beig* at *Samarcund*, ſhew alſo the degree in which the *Mahomedan Tartars* had benefited: certain it is, that we had no aſtronomical tables in *Europe* before thoſe which *Alfonzo*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, ordered to be drawn up in the year 1270, for which he employed ſome learned *Jews* †. And when we conſider that *Edward* I., the *Engliſh Juſtinian*, regulated the *Engliſh* ſtandards of length and weight on *Eaſtern* precedent, having ſerved in the wars of the *Eaſt*, the adoption of the *Eaſtern* ſtandards in *England* is more probably at firſt hand, than in imitation of the *Caſtalian*, when he viſited *Spain*, ‡. The policy of encouraging agri-

* Diſſertation on the Accounts of *India* and *China* of two *Mahomedan* Travellers in the 9th century, p. 255.

† Ibid. p. 222.

‡ Biſhop *Hooper's* Inquiry into ancient Meaſures, p. 16.

culture ſeems to have been impreſſed on *St. Louis* of *France*; for on his return from the Holy Land, to repair the misfortunes occaſioned to his country by his abſence, he ordained that no interruption ſhould be given to the exportation of corn, wine, &c.* an ordinance infinitely more wiſe and adequate to its object than thoſe of ſubſequent reigns. The calculations of M. *Vauban* ſuppoſed the extent of *France* 30,000 ſquare leagues, and the cultivated land 10,000 ſquare leagues, of which 7,500 in grain, each producing 12,625 *ſeptiers*†, for bread, ſeed corn deducted, would feed 31,240,000 inhabitants, at three *ſeptiers* † to each perſon: later calculations ſtate that, in 1621, *French* corn, in price and quality, defied competition in the *Engliſh* market, and was ſold in *France* at eighteen livres, preſent money; and the produce then is eſtimated to have been ſeventy millions of *ſeptiers*; and the population of *France* alſo to have been infinitely greater than at preſent. The actual produce of

* Ordinance, Dec. 1254.

† *Septier*, equal to 240 pounds weight.

grain in *France* is eſtimated at forty-five millions* of *Septiers at* 17 *liv.* 8 *ſols*; and the period of 1748, 9, and 50, during which *France* imported from *England*, on an average, 1,400 *muids*† each year, the amount compared to the conſumption was conſidered as a drop of water in a pond‡; therefore, injudicious regulation, anarchy, or centrical commotions, which interrupt the cultivation of *France*, and its free internal circulation, will diſtreſs them more than ſurrounding warfare. The wiſe regulation of *Great Britain* to open and ſhut its ports when grain riſes or falls in the market to fair ſpecified prices, enſures free ſale and reaſonable profit in the ſeaſons of greateſt abundance, which has, and, I hope, will long counteract the unreaſonable ſpeculation of theoriſts, who require that grain ſhould recompence the huſbandman, by an advance of price in proportion as the articles of luxury riſe by the influx of riches, without taking to account that the

* Encyclopedie, dernier edition, art. *Bled*.

† One *Muid*, equal to twelve *ſeptiers*.

‡ Eſſais ſur la Police des Grains.

exclusion of foreign corn, beyond a rule of indispensible policy and necessity, would annihilate the reciprocity essential to commerce, and would reduce the cultivation of the country to its consumption, and occasion the extremes of fluctuation in price; very low prices with abundant crops, and very high prices with bad crops, which never can produce an average favourable to agriculture. We know that the riches of *Lydia* and *Persia* did not vary the standard prices of corn; when the *Romans* were at the extent of their excesses of folly and extravagance corn was very cheap *. The riches of *Delhi*, which enabled *Nadir Shah* to carry away 120 millions sterling, did not raise the price of grain in the *Bengal* provinces; and humanity dictates the same policy for *British India*: for whenever riches, bad administration, warfare, or over-grown manufactures of luxury from foreign materials, do not leave hands and capital for the cultivation of land, they check agriculture and national industry; and by whatever means industry diminishes,

* *Tacitus*, Ann. lib. 15.

population will decreaſe, and the prices of proviſions muſt riſe in a proportional degree. The ſtory of *Pythopolis* *, the *Lydian*, might inſtruct the modern nations, whoſe idleneſs begets poverty among ſhip loads of ſpecie; therefore, as in the eleventh and twelfth century we ourſelves were confirmed in ſound policy, from the gleanings of Eaſtern policy and literature, as the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and the people of *Iſrael* had been before us, we ought not to heſitate in admitting that the experience and ſyſtem of the *Hindoos* is beſt ſuited to their own internal government. If we muſt indulge in theory, with much ſafety we might ſuggeſt a ſerious hope, that the reſult of a judicious ſettlement of *India* may become an equitable rule of collecting the dues of the *Engliſh* Church, without violating its rights, property, or prejudices; for if, according to the juſt principle of *Akbar*, *Hindoo* collections are made on a ten-years ſettlement, the *corn rent*, as eſtabliſhed by ſome college leaſes, on ſimilar principle, being made general throughout

* *Polyæni* Stratag. lib. 8, c. 42.

*England* and *Wales*, with a ſtipulation that either the church or the pariſh ſhall have the right to demand a freſh valuation and agreement every fourteen or twenty-one years; the church might be enabled to aſcertain its income, and make the beſt application and diſtribution of its funds for the advancement of religion, morality, and learning, without farther encroaching on lay lands, by extending the operation of Queen *Anne*'s bounty; conſequently, not only every jealouſy of the church, but the ever exiſting temporal diſſentions, leading to ſpiritual ſchiſm, which alienate the clergy from their pariſhoners, would vaniſh. I cannot give a better illuſtration of the excellence of native *Hindoo* management, than by annexing two tables of village accounts, which Colonel *John Murray* obligingly tranſmitted to me from *India* five years ago; the additional columns are of his ſuggeſtion, to ſhew how eaſily an official return might be made of the actual produce and population of the whole of *Britiſh India*, only by eſtabliſhing confidence, and by taking advantage of forms now in uſe in the villages of the *Hindoos*.

An Account of the Rent of Ground called *Reyutty*, situated in the Village *Mooraudpore*, in the *Pergunnah* of *Rebeemabad*, dated 10th *Caurtic*, or October, Year 1196.

| Names of the Tenants or *Reyuts*. | Number of Persons in the Family of each *Reyut*. | Number of the Allotment. | Length of Ground occupied by each. | Breadth of the said Ground. | Calculation of the Contents of the said Breadth and Length, called *Cali*. | REMARKS. | Estimated Quantity of Grain. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Begahs*. *Cottahs*. | *Begahs*. *Cottahs*. | *Begahs*. *Cottahs*. | | |
| *Jogul Kahar* ..... | | 1 | — 10 | — 10 | — 5 | Site of the Houſe, called *Bauſtoo*. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 2 | — 16 | — 16 | — 13 | Garden, called *Baghant*. | |
| *Ramnaut daſs* ..... | | 11 | 1 10 | — 17 | 1 6 | 4 *Cottahs* Houſe, and 22 *Cottahs* Plantain Garden. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 12 | 2 6 | 1 6 | 3 — | 9 *Cottahs* Houſe, 2 *Begahs* and 10 *Cottahs* Plantains, and 1 *Cottah* Garden. | |
| | | | Ground called *Paulker-Teeca*, or fixed Rent by the Extent. | | | | |
| *Tonoo Goſe* ..... | | 3 | — 19 | — 10 | — 10 | Garden. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 7 | 1 13 | 1 11 | 2 11 | Ditto. | |
| Ditto ..... | * | 8 | 1 5 | — 15 | — 19 | *Paddy* grows in the Month of *Baddor*, or Auguſt. | * |
| *Sittaram Paul* ..... | | 13 | — 14 | — 14 | — 10 | *Paddy*. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 14 | 3 2 | 1 7 | 4 4 | *Paddy* and *Kapas*, or Cotton, called *Shali Curps*. | |
| | | | Charity Ground, called *Deotter*. | | | | |
| *Punchanun Tacore* for the Worſhip or *Shebah* of *Jugernaut Chuckerbutty* .. | | 4 | — 25 | — 15 | — 19 | *Gram* and *Paddy*, called *Shali Khiſſare*. | |
| | | | Ground, called *Khamaur*. | | | | |
| *Jogul Kahar* ..... | | 5 | 1 10 | 1 — | 1 10 | *Gram* and *Paddy*, called *Shali Khiſſare*. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 6 | — 19 | — 19 | — 18 | *Gram* and *Paddy*, called *Doſuſſelah*, or two Crops. | |
| *Hurry daſs* ..... | | 9 | 2 7 | 1 12 | 3 15 | Ditto, ditto. | |
| Ditto ..... | | 10 | — 16 | — 14 | — 11 | *Pateel* Ground which is barren and unfit for Grain. | |

* The two Columns marked thus are propoſed to be added — all the reſt of the Account is already in Uſe; and all the Crops in this Country are regularly ſurveyed before they are cut down, and the Quantity eſtimated, whether the Tenant pay in Quantity or in Kind.

## TRANSLATE OF A FORM NOW IN COMMON USE.

An ACCOUNT of the Grain in the Ground situated in the Village of *Mooraudpore*, in the *Pergunnah* of *Rehumabada Tuppa Cureemabad, Circar Johoorabad*, under the *Subah* of *Hyderabad*, in the Year of the King's Reign 1196; of which Village *Sheek Rumzan Ali* is *Ameen* or Overseer; *Huriperſaud*, Arbitrator; *Peero* and others, Ground Meaſurers; and *Noor Mahomed*, Grain Appraiſer.

In the harveſt month, called *Rubiab*, Wheat, Barley, &c., grow.

| Names of the Tenants or *Reyats*. | Number of perſons in the family of each *Reyat*. | Length of the ground occupied by each. | | Breadth of the ſaid ground. | | Calculation of the contents of the ſaid breadth and length called *Cali*. | | Deduct for the particular reaſons ſpecified. | | Ballance, ground paying rent. | | Grain produced. | | Grain deducted as an eaſe to the *Reyat* or Tenant. | | Balance of Grain. | | Names of the Grains. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Begahs.* | *Cottahs.* | *Begahs.* | *Cottahs.* | *Begahs.* | *Cottahs.* | *Begahs.* | *Cottahs.* | *Begahs.* | *Cottahs.* | *Maunds.* | *Seers.* | *Maunds.* | *Seers.* | *Maunds.* | *Seers.* | | † 5 *Cottahs*, in which the ſeed did not produce any crop. ‡ *Cottahs* barren. * This is the additional column propoſed to be introduced into the *Patwary* accounts. |
| *Sittaram.* - | | 1 | 45 | 1 | 25 | 2 | 16 | 1 | †7 | 2 | 9 | 17 | — | 2 | 20 | 15 | 2 | Wheat. | |
| *Hurrybuket.* | | 1 | 17 | 1 | 18 | 1 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 4 | 20 | 1 | 15 | 4 | 2 | Barley. | |
| *Hurjeiu Roy.* | | 1 | 15 | ‡ | 25 | 1 | 19 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 17 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 4 | — | Peaſe. | |
| *Sabuk Roy.* - | | 1 | 19 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 4 | ‡ | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | — | 1 | 5 | 2 | 25 | Muſtard. | |

Per-

Eſtimated Quantity of Grain.

in this

quantity of

## CHAP. XXI.

### *On the Uſe and Abuſe of Precedent.*

HAVING enlarged on the component parts of *Britiſh India* under different ſyſtems of adminiſtration, it may be expected that I ſhould connect the various deductions into a new and perfect ſyſtem; I profeſſed only to give an analyſis, and if the component parts are truly ſtated, ſyſtem will ariſe from them, inſtead of the eſtabliſhed order of ſociety being ſubverted to adapt them to ſyſtem; for it would be impoſſible to connect in one ſyſtem, the ideal perfection of *Plato* and the practical cruelty of *Aurengzebe*.

In the inſtance of *Britiſh India*, the *opinions* of *Great Britain*, by almoſt general conſent, have been led to the feudal ſyſtem as a precedent; I ſhall, therefore, only ſtate the neceſſity of caution in adopting precedent, either for controling the *civil* or *religious* opinions of the natives.

Dr. *Robertſon*, after having given way to the doctrines of Mr. *Rouſe*, concurred in the accepted opinion, and ſays, "I imagine that the ſtate of landed property in *India* might be greatly illuſtrated by an accurate compariſon of it with the nature of feudal tenures; and I apprehend that there might be traced there, a ſucceſſion of changes taking place, much in the ſame order as has been obſerved in *Europe*, from which it might appear that the poſſeſſion of land was granted at firſt during pleaſure, afterwards for life, and at length became perpetual and hereditary: but even after this laſt form, when land is acquired by purchaſe or inheritance, the manner in which the right of property is confirmed and rendered complete, in *Europe* by charter, in *India* by a *Sunnud* from the Sovereign, ſeems to point out what was its original ſtate *."

It certainly would be very deſirable to trace a rule of wiſe adminiſtration from precedent, but, unfortunately, opinions

* Hiſtorical Diſquiſition, p. 346.

have been ſo unfaithfully recorded, nd a policy has neceſſarily been ſo much accommodated to prejudices and local circumſtances, or corruptly to peculation and avarice, that it is very difficult from any admitted facts to deduce certain principles; and where ſuch latitude of conſtruction exiſts, the ſame precedent may be ſuited to oppoſite ſyſtems: I have not found one among the writings publiſhed in *Europe*. I have already quoted from *Agricola*'s letters, which contain much uſeful local information ſtated to *Europeans* reſident at *Calcutta*; but cannot follow implicitly that author, who appears to deſpair of a perfect ſyſtem, and to be ready to diſpenſe with fundamental principles, to obtain common juſtice and honeſty under any modification of defective ſyſtem. I can aſſent to *Agricola*'s opinion of the *Mocurrery* plan, but I cannot ſay to the *Eaſt-India* Company *, "in the courſe of my different letters, my opinion in regard to landed property may be pretty clearly inferred; however, I have no objection to ſubſcribe to the idea that

* *Agricola*, Letter 43, p. 290.

the *Zemindars* are the proprietors of the ſoil, inſtead of renters, and confeſs it gave me no ſmall ſatisfaction to find them publicly acknowledged as ſuch, naturally concluding that it was a prelude to their being treated as ſuch; but how ſhall I expreſs my ſurpriſe to ſee this act of generoſity, for on the preſent occaſion I cannot call it policy, made an inſtrument of oppreſſion, unheard of in any country*." I am alſo obliged to diſſent from *Agricola*'s political view of the ſyſtem continued by the preſent act. The government of a company by a Board of Control and Parliament, he conſiders a pernicious and deſtructive miniſterial government; whereas, in my opinion, it is the only practicable mode of rendering the control of Parliament effective; for commercial diſputes by the act are to be ſettled between the Board and the Company, by the privy Council; but Parliament muſt decide on the political meaſures of the adminiſtration: ſome proprietors, it is true, may aſſume ſham conſequence, and propoſe reſolutions to attract

* *Agricola*, Letter 25, p. 208.

popularity, but the intereſt of the public and of the Company will not be ſacrificed by the Board of Control according to the caprice of a faction of proprietors, ſo long as the *political* eſtabliſhments are accounted for by the Miniſter to Parliament, not to the Proprietors.

Another difficulty occurred, as to the beſt mode of diffuſing among the inhabitants of *Britiſh India* a knowledge of our intentions, and the neceſſary intercourſe with the various people included in our empire.

The diſputes on this ſubject need not be very long; a certain number of *Engliſh* muſt learn the language of *India*, or all the natives muſt learn *Engliſh*.

*Juſtinian* publiſhed in *Greek* becauſe it was the moſt generally underſtood language*, and is a much better rule or

* Noſtra conſtitutio quam pro omne natione *Græca* lingua compoſuimus. *Juſtin.* Inſtit. lib. 3, tit. viii, 3. *Græca* leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, *Latina* ſuis finibus exiguis ſane continentur. *Cic. Orat.* pro *Arch.*

precedent than Mr. *Francis*'s ſerious recommendation of obliging the natives of *India* to *learn Engliſh*; "every man then would be able to ſpeak for himſelf, and every complaint would be underſtood *"; which opinion he ſupports by a reference to *Forteſcue*, alſo quoted by *Hume* †. "Conſimiliter *Gallici* poſt eorum adventum in *Angliam*, ratiocenia de eorum provenientibus non reciperunt niſi in proprio idiomate, *ne ipſi inde deciperentur* ‡."

By ſome obſervations on this propoſed precedent from the *Engliſh* hiſtory, I will juſtify my opinion of the importance of a judicious ſelection, if we muſt at all events act on precedent.

"King *William* eſtabliſhed a covenant with the people of *Kent* to be received as their *liege lord*, and the people of *Kent* enjoy their ancient liberties, and for evermore enjoy the laws and cuſtoms of the

* Letter from Mr. *Francis* to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793, p. 49.

† *Hume*, Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. I. p. 284.

‡ *Forteſcue*, cap. 48.

country; the reſt of *England* ſubmitted to *Bondage**." And, on the attempt to oblige a conquered country to learn the language of the conqueror, the ſame Chronicle obſerves, "here, by the waie, I give you to note a great abſurditie, namelie, that thoſe laws which touched all were, notwithſtanding, written in the *Norman* toong, which the *Engliſhmen* underſtand not; ſo that even at the beginning you would have great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the laws, and partlie by ignorance in miſconſtruing the ſame, to be wrongfullie condemned, ſome to death, and ſome in the forfeitures of their goods; others were ſo entangled in ſuites and cauſes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continually were toſſed from poſt to pillar, in ſuch wiſe, that in their minds they curſed the time that ever ſuch unequal laws were made †." I am ſorry Mr. *Francis* ſhould ſelect from this period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory the only ſevere mark of conqueſt, by which *William* the Conqueror was under

* *Hollingſhed*'s Chronicle, anno 1067.
† Ibid. Vol. III. page 8.

the neceſſity of extending the foundation of his own power, and of the liberty we now enjoy.

*Alfred* in the beginning of his reign had ſcarcely the hope of recovering his kingdom. The converſion of the *Danes* to Chriſtianity rendered them valuable ſubjects; the *code* which *Alfred* compoſed, was called the *Weſt Saxon Lage*. "The ravages of the *Danes* had ruined the commonwealth of learning, and frighted the muſes out of the iſland. This barbarous enemy ſeemed to proclaim war againſt ſenſe and underſtanding: they hated to ſee the *Engliſh* better poliſhed than themſelves; and, as they plundered the monaſteries out of covetouſneſs, ſo they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance*." When united by Chriſtianity, they obtained indiſcriminate privilege. The Miniſters of Religion, both among the Pagan and Chriſtian *Saxons*, were exempt from all military ſervice, and forbidden the uſe

* *Collier*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 165.

of arms. The Pagan *Northumbrians* imagined their High Prieſt, *Coeſi*, was become mad when they beheld him riding on a horſe with a ſpear in his hand, like a Secular *Thane*; "becauſe they knew it was not lawful for a prieſt to bear arms, or ride upon a horſe *." In 627 he overturned the great temple at *Godmundham* near *York*, and embraced Chriſtianity †. After the battle of *Egginton*, A. D. 878, in which *Alfred* defeated the *Danes*, he aſſigned them lands in *Eaſt Anglia* and *Northumberland* on their embracing Chriſtianity, and made it their intereſt to defend the country they came to plunder ‡; and thereby obtained acceſſion of ſhips and ſailors, with which he fought, with different ſucceſs, againſt other *Daniſh* fleets §. The lands granted by the King and others to the church, were ſubject to military ſervices as other lands, which

* *Bedæ* Hiſt. lib. c. 13.

† Ibid. lib. 2. c. 10.

‡ *W. Malmſb.* lib. 2. c. 4.

§ *Aſſer*, p. 9.

the clergy performed by their *ceorls*, or free tenants *.

*Edward* the elder enforced the regulations of *Alfred*; "Omnibus qui reipublicæ præſunt, etiam atque etiam mando ut omnibus æquos ſe præbeant judices perinde ac in judiciali libro (Saxonice Doom-bec) ſcriptum habetur, nec quicquam formident, quin jus commune audacter libereque dicant."

*Edward* the *Confeſſor* was called from his aſylum in *Normandy*, after another *Daniſh* invaſion and conqueſt had introduced foreign cuſtoms, and defaced the polity of the *Weſt-Saxon* law. *Alfred* therefore has properly been denominated the *Inſtitutor*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor the *Reſtitutor Legum*. His code was formed for the ſouthern provinces of *England*; but the northern provinces continued under a different Government †. He combined with *Alfred*'s code, or the *Weſt-Saxon Lage*,

* Reliquiæ Spelman, p. 19. Vide *Henry*'s Hiſtory of England.

† *Blackſtone* Comment, *Hale* Hiſt. 55.

the *Dane Lage* and the *Mercen Lage*, conſequently the old *Britiſh* cuſtoms bore their proportion of weight, and " the provincial polity of counties and their ſubdiviſions, have never been altered or diſcontinued, through all the ſhocks and mutations of government, from the time of its firſt inſtitution; though the laws and cuſtoms therein uſed, have often ſuffered conſiderable change.*"

*William* the *Norman* took a Coronation oath to govern his ſubjects with clemency and juſtice, and to treat the *Engliſh* as *Normans*; and he proceeded to reduce to obedience the *Northern* provinces, and thereby made *England* in fact one kingdom, under the ſame law. *Ingulphus*†, who lived at his court, ſays, he required *charters* to be ſigned and ſealed in wax as well as witneſſed, inſtead of the *Engliſh Saxon* cuſtom of ſetting the figure of a croſs, or ſome religious emblem of the name of *Chriſt*; in effect it diſallowed the incroachments of the Church

* Blackſtone, Vol IV, p. 405.
† Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 70.

and their pretenſions to exemptions; their lands werereregiſtered, under the tenure of Knights ſervice, andentered on a roll with the other lands of the kingdom. It is ſtated,* that in the twentieth year of his reign, King *William* convened the great men and landholders to do homage; by his inqueſt, he had aſcertained the occupants and value of the lands in *Edward* the Confeſſor's time, and their value when granted by his *charters*, and at the period of the Doomſday book. That roll of "Eccleſiaſtical ſervitude," as *M. Paris* calls it, begun in A. D. 1008, and finiſhed in 1086, —for ages "Sigilli regis comes fuit individuus in theſauro," is now in the Chapterhouſe at *Weſtminſter*, and was lately printed. This I believe is a true deſcription of that important record. In diſcuſſions before Parliament, it was ſtated with equal probability, that the cuſtomary of *Normandy* was introduced into *Normandy* from *England* by *Henry* I. when he conquered his brother *Robert*; therefore, ſays *Witlock*, it is not ſur-

* Sir *William Martin*'s introduction to the Law of Tenures.

priſing that the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Code ſhould be found to correſpond, and their origin be diſputed *. King *William* promiſed the *Biſhop* and *Portreve* of *London*, in the *Saxon* tongue†, to preſerve the Laws of *Edward*, and the property of thoſe who were good ſubjects; and *Holingſhed* further obſerves, that King *William* "brought to paſs, that the countrye was ſo rid of thieves and robbers, as at length a maid might have paſſed through the land

* *Whitlock's* Memorial, November, 1650.

† *Williem King* grets *Williem Biſceop* and *Godfred Porterefan*, and eall ya *Burgwurn* binnen *London*, *Frenciſce*, & *Engliſe* frendlice, & ic kiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet get ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on *Eadwerds* daege Kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege, and ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig, man eoy aenis wrang beode God eoy heald.

*Wilhelmum Rex* ſalutat *Wilhelmum Epiſcopum* et *Goffridum Portegreſium*, et omnen *Burghware* infra *London*, *Frans.* et *Angl.* amicabiliter, et vobis notum facio quod ego volo quod vos ſitis omni lege illa digni qua fuiſtis *Edwardi* diebus regis, et volo quod omnis puer ſit patris ſui hæres poſt diem patris ſui, et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam injuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos ſalvet. *Holingſhed* Chronicle.

with a bag of gold* and not have met with any miſdoer to have bereft her of the ſame, a thing ſo ſtrange to conſider, ſith in the beginning of his reign there were ſuch routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be ſafelie poſſeſſed of their own houſes, were the ſame never ſo well fortified and defended †;" and to the honour of the *Normans*, during their brilliant carreer of two centuries, in *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*‡, and the *Eaſt*, their valour was ſoftened by juſtice.

In this manner King *William* made a barrier againſt Papal encroachments, and in a ſubſequent period the Barons, the Ariſtocracy of this Country, prevented the Crown from being tempted by temporal dominion, to ſubmit to ſpiritual ſervitude.

* *J. Rous.*

† *Holingſhed.* Chron. p. 17,

‡ Leges et juſticiæ cultus tempore *Gulielmi* ſecundi vigebat in regno; ſua erat quilibet ſorte contentus; ubique pax, ubique ſecuritas, nec latronum metuabat viator inſidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum.

Hiſt. *Sicul.* Hugo Falcondus, Muratori Collect.

*Pope Innocent* the Fourth had offered the kingdom of *Sicily* to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, third Brother to King *Henry* the third, which he refuſed; and it was then offered to *Henry* the Third, who would not engage in war to depoſe his Nephew, ſon of the late Emperor *Frederick*; but when Emperor *Conrade* had put the young *Henry* to death, and ſeized on *Sicily*, the offer was again made to *Henry* the Third, who accepted it for his ſon *Edmund*: the *Pope* died, and his ſucceſſor was defeated by *Manfred*, who was crowned King of the two *Sicilies*; notwithſtanding which, *Henry* accepted the title for his ſon, who was inveſted in *London*, A. D. 1255. The King was obliged to apply to Parliament, and the Parliament refuſing its aid, the King by his Proclamation, and *Pope* by his Bull, enforced the exactions on the laity and clergy of *England*: Parliament again refuſed, and the King adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, where he agreed to the ſix Articles, called the Proviſions or Statutes of *Oxford*, from which he was abſolved by *Pope Urban* the Fourth; the Barons then took arms and made the King priſoner,

and writs were iſſued in the King's name by *Simon Montford*, Earl of *Leiceſter*; the writs to the Sheriff were *general*, to ſend two Knights for every Shire; ſince which period, the right of Citizens and Burgeſſes to ſit in Parliament has never been queſtioned, though the Commons were not regularly ſummoned for many years after. In 1265, *Pope Urban* revoked the grant of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*, and his ſucceſſor granted it to *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to *St. Louis*, King of *France*; and King *Henry*, while in *Leiceſter's* power, iſſued a commiſſion in 1265, to renounce the kingdom of *Sicily* in the name of his ſon *Edmund*. Prince *Edward* defeated *Leiceſter* and the Barons, at *Eveſham*, and the eſtates of *Leiceſter*, of *Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, of *John of Monmouth*, and others were given to Prince *Edmund*, created Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, and *Champaigne*, which laid the foundation of the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, thereby increaſed to ſuch height, that *Henry* of *Bolingbrook*, too powerful for a ſubject, depoſed his couſin german *Richard* the Second, and aſcended the throne. Thus in Prince *Edmund*, were

originally founded the great contentions which ſo long ſubſiſted between the two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and the democratical part of our Conſtitution acquired a permanent baſis.* It was from a due regard to the three orders of the ſtate, that "in the reign of *Edward* the Firſt, ſtiled the *Engliſh Juſtinian* †, the Law did receive ſo ſudden a perfection, that Sir *Matthew Hale*‡ does not ſcruple to affirm, that more was done in the firſt thirteen years of his reign to ſettle and eſtabliſh the diſtributive juſtice of the kingdom, than in all the ages ſince that time put together."

Hence it will appear, that *Engliſh* hiſtory will afford us inſtruction, notwithſtanding we neglect Mr. *Francis*'s hint of making the natives of *India* learn *Engliſh*. It will be eaſy alſo to trace in the earlieſt periods of *Engliſh* hiſtory, that the *Britiſh* conſidered it an important principle to reject an *impe-*

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. Diſſertation of *T. Aſtle*, Eſq.

† *Blackſtone*, Vol. IV. B. 4. C. 33. *Hale*. Hiſt. C. L. 56.

‡ The Statutes of *Population* of *Henry* the Seventh, of *Retainers*, and of *Alienations*, transferred *power* from the Nobles to the People.

*rium in imperio*—and yet there are men who hold forth the rude and abſurd violence of a *Cade* and a *Tyler*, which our anceſtors witneſſed with deteſtation and horror, as laudable examples, and prefer their own comments on the original rights of man, prior to ſociety, to the experience of ages.

The *Britiſh* Church ſo early as A. D. 590, refuſed to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of *Auguſtine*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury** ; and when *Edward* the *Confeſſor* ſent to *Rome*, to induce *Pope Formoſus* to withdraw his Bull of Excommunication againſt the King and his *Engliſh* ſubjects, for neglect of eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration †; the Corniſh men, who were *Britiſh*, refuſed to ſubmit, and took no notice of the *Pope*'s authority ‡. The direct intercourſe which the Sovereigns of *Europe* had with *Paleſtine*, immediately after the Conqueſt, tended to confirm this ancient *Britiſh* opinion.

* *Collier*'s Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. p. 171.

† *William de Malmſb.* and the Regiſter of the Priory of *Canterbury*.

‡ *Spelman.* Conſ. Vol I, p. 387,38.

The first *Kalifs* after *Mahomet* constantly introduced the prayer on Friday with a *Cotbat* or sermon. When the *Kalifs*, having acquired power to combine their sectaries by absolute monarchy, and laid aside preaching in person, the *Imams* concluded the *Cotbat* with a prayer for the *Kalif*; hence the person in whose name the *Cotbut* was delivered was acknowleged Supreme.

The princes of the families of *Buija*, *Seljukids*, and others who revolted from the *Kalifs*, continued to pay them the honour of the Mosque as head of their Church; whereas the *Fatemites* had the *Cotbat* in their own name, whereby they were called *Hereticks* by the other *Mahomedans*. Thus the *Kalifs* of *Bagdad* became mere cyphers, having only the honour of the Mosque, the right of investitures, and of coining money; the tributary Princes of the orthodox *Mahomedans* consequently had very complicated allegiance. The *Cotbat* first mentioned the *Kalif* out of religion, then the *Sultan* out of duty, as sovereign, and then the Prince himself. The coin bore the *Kalif*'s name on one side, and the *Sultan*'s on the other; under this form all the

*Mahomedan* Princes in *Meſſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, reduced their ſyſtem in 1250, after the death of *Moadzam Turan Shah*, the laſt of the family of the *Ayubites*, ſucceſſors of *Saladin*, who was killed by his own people, while *St. Louis*, King of *France*, was in priſon; at which period the *Kaliſat* and *Cothat* ceaſed; the conſequences of which political event King *Edward* I. witneſſed in *Paleſtine*.

The *Turkiſh* and *Circaſſian Mamluck Tartars* revived both nominally, till the death and defeat of *Tumam-bey*, the twenty-third and laſt *Circaſſian Sultaun*, who was hanged by the order of *Selim*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1515, ſince which the *Muſti* has been eſtabliſhed. The fluctuation of *Mahomedan* ſymbols of ſovereignty, marks them to be of little political importance, and of much practical inconvenience. The *Moguls* who conquered *Hindoſtan* were of the ſect of *Omar*, and the principal people who became the chiefs in the *Mogul* Court, and thoſe who came at the *Perſian* Invaſion, were of the ſect of *Ali*, and differed totally in their cuſtoms and religion,

from *Hindoos*. I will purſue the obſerva-tion a little further, to draw another con-cluſion.

The *Saracens*, who overran *Spain* and *Sicily*, made the firſt attempt againſt *Spain* when the King of the *Viſigoths* appeared in his greateſt power; *Monteſquieu* * ſuppoſes the rapid diſuſe of the *Viſigoth* Law in *Spain* to be the conſequence of ignorance in writing; but it appears to have ariſen from more natural cauſes. The *Viſigoth* Kings had aboliſhed not only the written *Roman* Law, but the cuſtomary Law of the natives of *Spain* †, and were particu-larly ſevere againſt the *Jews*, who formed a conſiderable part of the natives, living under the *Roman* Law; a general revolt was the conſequence; the *Jews* invited the *Saracens*; and though *Womba* ſubdued the revolters, he dared not puniſh them; a few years afterwards the *Saracens* con-quered *Spain*, and the kingdom conformed to a cuſtomary law.

* Monteſquieu Liv. 28, c. xii.

† *Loix des Wiſigoths*. L. 2. Tit. 1. § 9.

From theſe, as from numberleſs examples in the hiſtory of mankind, we may know, whenever laws are founded in juſtice, and applicable to the habits of a civilized ſociety, whether they are written or traditional, they will be remembered with ſuperſtitious veneration; and it will always be idle to imagine it poſſible to eſtabliſh the *fiction* of any defective government, without realiſing, in a many-fold degree, all the defects incident to that ſyſtem for which reaſon the fiction of hereditary fiefs, with a continuation of the inequality of *freda*, which the plan of ſettlement of 1776, for *Bengal*, would have eſtabliſhed; and the definition of the *Liege Lords* by the the ten-years ſettlement now exiſting in *Bengal*, cannot ever produce either feodal dependance, or political dependance; from the ſame cauſe that the *Salique* Law had no effect in the ſecond race of *French* Kings, when there was no Common Law becauſe nobody could enforce Common Law; and in the third race the ſovereign did not even think it worth while to inſert in the Charters his right to ſuperintend the judicature: whatever we

may do in ſupport of the Revenue Laws, during the ten years ſettlement of 1789*, the reſerved rent will operate as the *fredum* to the *Zemindar*; and the *freda* to the tenantry being arbitrary, and in no degree defined or controled, but depending on the caprice of the *Zemindar*, the whole body of tenantry or *Reyuts* muſt be enſlaved. Political fiction therefore ought never to be uſed by conſiderate men, except, after the moſt diligent inveſtigation and inquiry, it ſhall appear, that the people to be governed are either ſo ignorant and barbarous, or ſo profligate from licenciouſneſs and irreligion, that it is impoſſible, without ſacrificing all order and ſecurity, to apply to them the rule which Sir *William Temple*, and others†, who do not deſpiſe the experience of mankind in ſociety, admit, that "thoſe forms are beſt which have been longeſt received and authorized in a nation, by cuſtom or uſe, and into which the humours and manners of the people run in the moſt general current." On the ſame principle and conſideration, the correction of a

* Monteſquiu, L. 28, C. 9.

† *Polybius*. Hiſt. Lib. 10, § 23.

defective ſyſtem requires a diſpaſſionate and patient inveſtigation, becauſe all experimental reforms are calamitous to a people, whenever their preſſure is neither analogous to their cuſtoms, nor defined by written or traditional reaſon, nor ariſing from ſound policy or real neceſſity. I ſincerely wiſh that the *Britiſh* Courts of Law may be for ever revered in *Great Britain*, where they are adequate to their beneficial objects; and as ſincerely I hope that the practice of the *Engliſh* Courts may be excluded from *Britiſh India*. If a *raſh* experiment of reform had not aboliſhed, a few years ago, the *Board* of *Trade* and *Plantations*, which the joint labour of a Committee or Board of Council, and a Board of Agriculture as now conſtituted, will never replace, I might have referred to its records, to point out the neceſſity of abſolutely defining, in the moſt minute detail, the inſtructions to every practitioner of the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, detached to adminiſter the Law of *England*. In the ſmalleſt government on the Coaſt of *Africa*, an inſtance occurred of one Lawyer, with a Clerk, exhibiting the forms of the various

Courts of *Weſtminſter*, with their relative appeals, and by indefatigable attendance on the ſuitors, both in and out of Court, made the moſt of every cauſe conſiſtantly with official precedent of *Engliſh* practice; a ridicule which was of ſhort duration from the repreſentation of that Board; the chances of ſimilar abſurdity muſt not exiſt; but the hopes of checking oppreſſion, may reaſonably be expected in *India* from *Engliſh* gentlemen, who, on a proper examination, ſhall be found, by their education and knowlege of the language, to be qualified to ſuperintend a diſtrict in *India*, and to act as Juſtice of the Peace, with a *written Code*, founded on old principles, with reſpect to the rights and habits of the natives; for we cannot ſay at this time more than at any former period, appoint good men, and they will make good Laws; but give good orders, and they will make good men. If it ſhould be objected that ſuch juriſdiction will reſemble our County Courts, I ſhall only beg preciſion as to the period at which the precedent is to be taken; if from the early period when the Earl or Sheriff in *perſon* preſided, and

the Juſticiary Courts were ill adminiſtered, I ſhall admit the precedent to be applicable; but by no means ſhould we make it reſemble the modern County Courts, in which any Attorney, as deputy to the Sheriff, officiates in the court, extended by the Writ of *Juſticies* to a juridiction oppreſſive beyond the common limited County Courts, and unneceſſarily ſo, ſince the *Juſticiary Courts* are duely adminiſtered: the low practice of the Law is the lumber and diſgrace of *Britiſh* Judicature.

The good fortune of *Great Britain* has urged her to repel innovations; the old *Britiſh* Cuſtoms, *Common Law*, dictated by *reaſon*, whether derived from *Phœnician* or *Gaulic* polity, has influenced every period of *Britiſh* reform, particularly in the twelfth century, when every other part of *Europe* yielded to the *Roman* Law. The ingenuity and art of ſubſequent attempts to evade it, particularly by miſapplying precedents of feudal ſyſtem, and of *Roman* Law, to eſtabliſh an eccleſiaſtical *imperium in imperio*, are conciſely and

ably ſtated by *Blackſtone* *, in his Commentaries, in which he does juſtice to the vigorous and ſucceſsful defence of the *Britiſh* Parliament, which has maintained the independance, and unity of the Conſtitution. I have ſtated the proceedings of Parliament, to check the late attempt ſince our acquiſition of territory in *India* by a trading company collectively, and colluſively, by individual proprietors or ſervants, to inſtitute the worſt ſort of eluſion; this commercial plot, like the former deeper plan of clerical management, proved but a bubble when the eyes of Parliament were opened, and the people ſet themſelves with vigour to oppoſe it; "ſo vain and ridiculous," ſays *Blackſtone* †, "is the attempt to live in ſociety, without acknowleging the obligations which it lays us under, and to affect an entire independance of that Civil State, which protects us in all our Rights, and gives us every other liberty, that only excepted, of deſpiſing the Laws of the Community."

* *Blackſtone's* Comment. B. 2. c. 18. B. 4. c. 3.

† ——— Vol. IV. p. 109.

We have infinite obligation to the gentlemen who have devoted their time to the ſtudy of the *Sanſcrit*; and the tranſlations of the books preſerved in that ancient language will not prove an unprofitable addition to the hiſtory of mankind and of literature: but we are not to expect a ſubſtitute for the valuable remains of ancient hiſtory which we poſſeſs, but a valuable illuſtration of its moſt obſcure parts. We have not now to learn that mythology is inſtruction conveyed in a tale, on which, if we meditate with the judgement of a *Bacon*, we may learn the *wiſdom* of the *ancients*; but, if we view it through the medium of ignorant prejudice, we ſhall come within the obſervation of a *Hindoo* writer, "that whoever obſtinately adheres to any ſet of opinions, may bring himſelf to believe the freſheſt ſandal wood is a flame of fire*." Information from Eaſtern or from Weſtern mythology, connected with hiſtory, will ſhew that it has been often miſunderſtood and miſapplied, but not in a greater degree than eloquence and

* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. I. p. 224.

poetic fiction to ridicule virtue and religion, the bulwarks of a free nation, or to direct the daggers of ſedition to lacerate the vitals of the conſtitution, and the bonds of ſocial habits. I cannot aſſume other pretenſions, than ariſe from a patient inveſtigation of the proceedings of *Britiſh* adminiſtration, and from their own ſtatements, to make concluſions apparent, which are ſmothered in the voluminous bulk of *Indian* records; and however imperfect my practical application may be, it will, I hope, have a better chance of being diſpaſſionately reviewed, from my having ſteered clear of all party and perſonal conſiderations,—literally in the degree I had preſcribed to myſelf, never having ſeen the alarming extent of the work together, until its detached parts returned from the preſs; and I regret, on account of the natives of *India* and of this country, that the *brullion* and the impreſſion require much correction of the indulgent reader: without quitting the humble ſtation of a fellow labourer, I venture even to guide, when, from experiencing the defects of informa-

tion, I ſolicit in behalf of myſelf and the public, the farther aid of the learned.

The Preſident of the *Aſiatic* Society, whoſe perſonal knowledge opens to him a wider field of inquiry than, perhaps, falls to the lot of any of his cotemporaries, has begun his inſtruction as to the connection of the theology of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Indıa* "without purſuing a very regular method, but took the Gods, of whom he diſcourſes, as they happened to preſent themſelves *;" and with no other *European* book to refreſh his memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, *Pomey*, entitled the *Pantheon* †. And on the ſubject of religion he truly adduces the ſad obſtacles to the general extenſion of our pure faith in *Hindoſtan*, ariſing from the veneration for *Mahomed* and *Ali*, ‡ both extraordinary men; the one as a politic reformer; and the latter as a man of unexceptionable character: and the probability

* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. I. p. 225.
† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 224.
‡ Ibid. p. 474.

of the *Hindoos* being readily induced to admit the goſpel, though unprofitably, from their belief and conviction that it is perfectly conſiſtent with their *Saſtras*, though different in form, and will be equally acceptable if they be ſincere in ſubſtance *. I ſhall venture to predict that much ſubſtantial illuſtration will come from that learned and reſpectable man, whenever his leiſure ſhall enable him to arrange his ſtore of univerſal knowledge; and he will bring to our view the preſent real relation of *Chriſtians* to *Mahomedans*. We know that *Mahomed* gave expreſs orders to his captains to conciliate the Chriſtians; and that the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, by their ſubmiſſion, obtained peculiar indulgence; and as *Emir Cond*, in his Hiſtory of *Ali*, tells us, this *Kalif*, diſputing with a Chriſtian Monk, ſo clearly, from the goſpel, convinced him that *Mahomed* was the *Paraclete* or Comforter promiſed by *Chriſt*, that the Monk embraced *Mahomediſm* †: and the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians continued in

* Aſiatic Reſearches. Vol. I, p. 274.

† Deſſert. of *Euſebius Renaudot*, p. 171.

high eſtimation at the court of *Bagdad*, particularly in the reign of *Kalif Almamun*, who employed them in the tranſlation of the ancient *Greek* books into *Arabic* *. We alſo know how differently the *Propaganda* endeavoured to eſtabliſh their influence in the court of *Akber*, who built a church for the Chriſtians at *Agra*, and granted them privileges, which were confirmed by *Jahan Guire* in 1604.

The work *Xavier*, containing the hiſtory of Chriſt from the legends of the Church of *Rome*, preſented in *Perſian* to the Emperor, in 1602, was tranſlated and publiſhed in *Europe*, in 1639, by *De Dieu*; and the illuſtration of that work againſt *Mahomediſm*, by another book of *Xavier*, called *the Looking Glaſs ſhewing the Truth*, was anſwered by a *Perſian* gentleman, *Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabedin*, whoſe book, called *the Bruſher of the Looking Glaſs*, expoſed the idolatry and ſuperſtitious errors by which the Jeſuits' illuſtration diſfigured the doctrine of Chriſt †. Subſequent anſwers

* Diſſert. of *Euſebius Renaudot*, p. 111.

† *Prideaux*, the true Nature of Impoſture, p. 156.

of the *Propaganda*, drawn from authorities of Popes and Councils, could never convince a *Mahomedan* of the truth of the Chriſtian religion.

As to the *Hindoos*, Sir *William Jones* having particulariſed *Iſaiah*, among the moſt likely parts of the bible, to influence the opinions of the natives, I venture to ſtate in one obſervation all that I wiſh to ſuggeſt; becauſe, as we ſhould learn, ſo ſhould we teach.

The infinite number of allegorical ſymbols degenerate into mere jugglers' tricks, when ſeparated from the principles to which they belong. If the number of ſymbols in the moſt extended polytheiſm was doubled, they are all reducible to two theories; the one admitting one omnipotent univerſally pervading principle, the other dividing the principle into two omnipotent and contrary principles of good and evil.

The Book of *Job*, by thoſe who can judge of the original, has been allowed to

be a moral dramatic poem*, addreſſed to the Jews immediately after they had been led by *Moſes* out of *Egypt*; and its object was evidently to refute the doctrine of two principles, then prevalent among the inhabitants of the Land of Promiſe. It is no improbable expectation that this venerable record may operate conviction on ſuch people as are deſcribed in *Sacontala*; for the *Bramins* in that drama correſpond with the account *Clearchus* gave of his maſter *Ariſtotle*'s opinion of the Jews, whoſe origin he traced from the philoſophers of *India*, called *Celanoi*; the remarkable circumſtances of whoſe diet and chaſtity† diſtinguiſhed the *Eſſenes*, the only one of the three ſects of Jews againſt whom the *Meſſiah* did not utter one reproach, when he "reſiſted with equal firmneſs the haughty ſcepticiſm of the *Sadducees*, and the abject ſuperſtition of the *Phariſees*."

We are told, in ancient times, if a Jew landed in *Cyprus* he would have been killed: it is not from a Jew we would ex-

* *Weſley* in *Jobum* Differt. 3.
† *Joſephus*, p. 1347.

pect a fair repreſentation of the religion of *Cyprus*. In the ſame manner I can ſuppoſe exiſting rancour from oppoſite doctrines moderated by the Bramahical ſyſtem into toleration, though I do not ſee any traces of ſuch information in the Aſiatic Reſearches; and ſhould Mr. *La Flotte* have adopted errors from the manuſcript compiled by order of Monſ. *Porcher*, Governor of *Karical*, which was brought to *Pondicherry*, in 1767, they remain to be diſproved; I muſt adopt the facts which he witneſſed every day in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, as to the extreme difference in worſhip and opinion between the diſciples of *Siva* and the diſciples of *Viſhnu**, and the extenſive worſhip of *Lingam*, connected with the worſhip of *Routren*, in the ſouthern peninſula of *India*. And when I ſee, in the preface to the Revenue Regulations of *Tippoo*, that no perſon in *Calcutta* was acquainted with the *Telinga*, or *Malabar* dialect, it will ſhew how little qualified we are, as yet, to decide on the hiſtory,

* Eſſais Hiſtor. de l'*Inde* par M. *La Flotte*. *Paris*, 1769.

religion, and cuſtoms of the natives. In tracing theories, we ſhould not forget that the trade through the centre of *India* was carried on by Chriſtian *Armenians*, at leaſt ſince the period of *Akbar*; and that the Jews and Arabs, from very remote and early periods, have been favoured on the coaſts of *Malabar* and the ſouthern peninſula of *India*, and carried on trade by ſea to *China** : we muſt, therefore, not limit our inquiry to one ſect, nor adopt one ſevere rule of ſelection, for we may expect inſtruction both from the *Hindoos* and from the *Mahomedans*.

" Time was," ſays a ſagacious *Rabbi* †, " when the whole earth was covered with blindneſs and error, ſome few of the *Patriarchs* only excepted. One nation ſaid there was no *firſt cauſe*, nor any part of the univerſe that could with greater propriety call itſelf a creature than a creator,

* Account of two *Mahomedan* Travellers, illuſtrated by *Euſebius Renaudot*.

† *Rabbi Juda*, the *Levite*, author of the excellent dialogue inſcribed *Cuzary*, quoted in the letters concerning Mythology, p. 391.

ſince the whole was *eternal:* another ſaid, the *Empyreum*, or celeſtial ſphere, was eternal, the author of all things; and adored it accordingly: a third believed that *fire* was the ſubſtance and cauſe of light, and of the ſtupendous productions we ſee in the world, for which they adored it, and ſaid the *ſoul* too was *fire*: others, and the greater part, worſhiped the *ſun*, the *moon*, the *planets*, and the figures of *animals* formed in likeneſs to thoſe in the Zodiac: others worſhiped their *Princes*, or their wiſe men; and all agreed, that it was impoſſible for any thing in the world to ſwerve from the courſe of nature.

"Things continued in this ſtate until the *philoſophers*, men of a fine ſubtle wit and profound meditation, diſcovered and confeſſed that there muſt be a *firſt cauſe*, *almighty* and *ſupreme*, whom no created being can reſemble; but they erred in the progreſs of their reaſoning, ſaying, that though *God* created, he does not now operate in the world in general, much leſs in individuals, nor direct particular events, which they thought too mean to fall under

the cognizance of ſo exalted a being, eſpecially as he never innovates, nor alters their original nature."

So far, both a Jew and a Chriſtian can agree; and though the Jew may incline not to extend his obſervation beyond the period of *Epicurus*, a Chriſtian will readily admit that it is the orbit traced by the human mind; and as "the power ariſing from ſtrength is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many; but authority ariſing from opinion is in thoſe that govern, who are few*," it is a moſt important conſideration to revere that ſound philoſophy which has preſerved to this country its ancient ſimplicity in belief and worſhip; and while we ſtand firmly againſt infidelity and licenciouſneſs, to guard againſt the mixture of ſuperſtition with theology, "a folly the rather to be reſtrained, becauſe from the unwholeſome mixture of things, human and divine, ariſes not only a fantaſtic philoſophy, but an heretical religion; 'tis therefore the moſt ſalutary method to

* Sir *William Temple.*

apply *Faith only in matters that to Faith belong* *."

Previous to the light of the *goſpel*, mankind was led to their ſpiritual good by their temporal intereſt. When *Jeremiah* upbraided the people of *Iſrael*, it was for their folly and ingratitude: "Hath any nation changed their gods which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." In proceſs of time the moſt plain and intereſting parts of the law were obſcured, *weighty matters* were gloſſed over by trivial ceremonials, in a degree that "made the word of *God* of none effect through their traditions †:" then the words of *Iſaiah* alone might have diſpoſed men to abate their pride when they looked for a Meſſiah. "He ſhall grow up as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form or comelineſs; and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no beauty that we ſhould deſire him: he is deſpiſed and rejected of

* *Bacon*, Nov. Organ. Aphor. 65.

† *Matthew*, chap. vii. ver. 13.

men; a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid, as it were, our faces from him: he was deſpiſed, and we eſteemed him not *." Truly has a learned writer ſaid, that the clergy of the church of *England* "more eſpecially have aſſerted, with growing confidence, her ſuperiority over all other eſtabliſhments; ſhe has been enabled to reſiſt the unkind and unfair aſſaults that have been made againſt her doctrines; ſhe has ſeen in her friends a conſtant increaſe of ſound knowledge, which ever draws onwards in its train an increaſe of good morals." The compariſon of *Mahomediſm* and *Chriſtianity*, in their hiſtory, their evidence, and their effects †, may be adduced among the proofs that the children of wiſdom render eſſential ſervice to religion; and while "they ſearch all things, they hold faſt that which is good;" it glances at the influence of ſuperſtition over the *Pagan* world, "and both elucidates and juſtifies the biographical form in

* *Iſaiah*, chap. 53, ver. 23.

† Sermons at the *Bampton* Lecture, by *J. White*, Profeſſor of *Arabic*, p. 206.

which revelation is conveyed to us: God, it is true, might have made known to us his will by a ſeries of laws, by abſtract reaſonings, by ſhort inſtructive ſentences, by copious aud regular ſyſtems, or by any of the various modes of human compoſition; but Chriſtianity aims at a nobler end, and purſues it by the moſt proper and efficacious methods. We read, indeed, the opinions and belief of *Socrates*, and the commands and promiſes of *Mahomet*, but by *Jeſus Chriſt*, virtue, in every kind and in every degree, is exemplified as well as taught: he is the pattern as well as the teacher of the duties we are to perform; his precepts ſhew us what we ought to practiſe; his conduct convinces us that it is practicable, and the rewards which he has offered are powerful incentives to us to practiſe it, from the beſt motives, and in the beſt manner. His reſurrection from the grave confirms our faith; his aſcenſion to glory animates our hopes; the actions of his life, and the circumſtances of his death, enlarge and invigorate our charity: by theſe means all the parts of Chriſtianity, form one great and conſiſtent whole,

every moral rule is realiſed, and becomes a proof of religious truth, while every religious truth, in its turn, illuſtrates and enforces every moral rule. The actions of God himſelf are indeed inviſible; thoſe of men are imperfect; but the actions of *Chriſt* (conſidered in his human character) are both viſible and perfect; they are level to our apprehenſions, and moſt worthy our imitation. Religion is thus made intelligible to all, becauſe all are bound to obey it; it is accompanied by a ſpecies of demonſtration which the meaneſt cannot miſunderſtand; it is recommended by ſuch an inſtance of its beauty and its uſefulneſs, as is calculated to remove every ſcruple and to ſilence every objection."

The reſearches of another learned divine *, have tended to encourage thoſe who are inſenſible to the uſe of hiſtory, to know "that one of the nobleſt uſes which can be made of Chriſtian antiquities would be, to learn wiſdom and moderation from

* Preface to *Jortin*'s Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

the faults, indiſcretions, and follies; and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predeceſſors, to obſerve carefully what was good and what was blameable in remoter ages; and thence to improve ourſelves, as we are a Chriſtian nation, by removing the blemiſhes and defects from which, perhaps, we are not free; and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected: a Chriſtian ſociety, formed upon ſuch a plan, would not altogether anſwer the fair and bright idea which the imagination repreſents, becauſe perfection dwells not here below, and ſome bad materials muſt of neceſſity enter into the human ſtructure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church which the beloved diſciple had the pleaſure to ſee "coming down from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned by her huſband, who had no need of the ſun, neither of the moon to ſhine on it, for the glory of God did enlighten it, and the lamb was the light thereof*:" for this excellent end and purpoſe the Divine Pro-

* Revelations, chap. xx.

vidence ſeems to have preſerved eccleſiaſtical records, and has commanded devouring time to reſpect them, that poſterity might receive inſtruction from thoſe venerable and ſilent monitors, and not want examples to ſhun and to follow." When Dr. *Jortin* publiſhed his remarks in 1751, having taken notice of the propoſal of *Plotinus* to the Emperor *Gallienus*, as *Porphyry* relates, to rebuild a ruined city in *Campania* for philoſophers, intending to dwell there himſelf, and to eſtabliſh *Plato*'s republic, he obſerved that a republic of modern deiſts and moral philoſophers would be a great curioſity; but when he adverted to the laſt ſtage of infidelity, and of the argument of *Bayle*, that an atheiſt is preferable to an idolater, by which *Monteſquieu* ſays he meant, it would be leſs dangerous to have no religion at all than a bad one, he remarked, that the polity incident to ſuch irreligion muſt be looked for and viewed in the poets. The *Cyclops* of *Homer* were without religion, obedience, civility, or reſpect to each other; they ruled their wives and children as they thought fit, and deſtroyed all ſtragglers that fell in

their hands*: little did that learned author imagine that *Bayle*'s infidelity was to be ſurpaſſed, and that the incorrectneſs of a *French* tranſlator in the title of a treatiſe of *Philo Judæus*, omnis bonus, liber eſt; tout livre eſt bon, which had excited a ſmile of contempt, ſhould be ſuperſtitiouſly adopted by his countrymen, and even by *Engliſh* tavern friends to the liberty of the preſs, who endanger its real liberty by encouraging its licenciouſneſs: but it is a pity that men of eminent talents ſhould not remember an old ſaying, "that a ſcorner ſeeketh wiſdom and finds it not†;" aptly applied by another eminent divine‡ when he pointed out the errors in hiſtory and chronology by which Lord *Bolingbroke* ſupported his flippant remarks on the ſcriptures: his Lordſhip's own words in the famous diſſertation on parties atone for his error, by the moſt direct and juſt condemnation of ſimilar conduct.

* Odyſſey, v. 273.

† Proverbs, chap. xiv, ver. 6.

‡ *Newton* on the Prophecies, p. 34.

"Some men there are the peſts of ſociety, I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly againſt that ſyſtem of religion, or at leaſt againſt that church eſtabliſhment which is received in *Britain*, that they are inceſſant in their endeavours to puzzle the plaineſt thing in the world, and to refine and diſtinguiſh away the life and ſtrength of our conſtitution in favour of the little, preſent, momentary turns, which they are retained to ſerve. What now would be the conſequence if all theſe endeavours ſhould ſucceed? I am perſuaded that the great philoſophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new conſtitutions in church and ſtate; we ſhould find ourſelves therefore without any form of religion, or civil government; the firſt ſet of miſſionaries would take off the reſtraints of religion from the governed, and the latter would ſoon remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controls which liberty hath preſcribed to thoſe that govern, and disjoint

the whole frame of our conſtitution; entire diſſolution of manners, confuſion, anarchy, or, perhaps, *abſolute monarchy*, would follow; for it is poſſible, nay *probable*, that amidſt ſuch a rout of lawleſs ſavages, men would chuſe that government, abſurd as it is, rather than have no government at all *."

Theſe comments may appear foreign to the ſubject of *Britiſh India*; they are, however, in my opinion, neceſſary to be remembered by thoſe who legiſlate, and by thoſe who meditate on the law to be preſcribed to *Britiſh India*; they are congenial to the *Britiſh* character, becauſe the eſtabliſhed religion, and the eſtabliſhed law of *England*, have the peculiar bleſſing of being in uniſon with the true principles of Chriſtianity, in a degree beyond other Chriſtian nations, whoſe law partakes more of the rigour of the *Roman* law †; its influence appears in the diſcrimination which this nation has ſhewn on the diſaſtrous

* *Bolingbroke*'s Diſſertation on Parties.

† Leges Romanæ duriores erant quam lenitas Chriſtiana patiatur. Grot. de Jure Belli. 1. 11. ſec. 4.

criſis of the *French* monarchy, by receiving as brethren thoſe only who are reſpectable, by ſuffering poverty and baniſhment for conſcience ſake, and whoſe age and infirmity render them unable to reſiſt by arms the new ſyſtem of tyranny and irreligion: the patriarchal dignity of the Biſhop *St. Pol de Leon*, and the correct life and deportment of the proſcribed clergy, muſt, to a reflecting mind, quicken its ſenſibility for the millions of well-diſpoſed inhabitants of *France* who are ſacrificed by unexampled aſſaſſination eſſential to the introduction of the new ſyſtem; but muſt not the ſame reflection excite a degree of honeſt indignation againſt thoſe who know the means by which ſociety has been unhinged, property violated, and religion deſtroyed, and reconcile it to their honour and their conſcience to excite a ſavage lawleſs democracy * and inordination to outſtretch the indulgence of the law by ſyſtematic violation of its principles, and to weaken the energy neceſſary in the moment, by the ſame management which weakened the

* Δημοκρατια δι ὁ θεμιωδης και χειροκρατικος. Polyb. Hiſt. p. 638.

executive force of *Great Britain* in the laſt war, on a then leſs queſtionable principle of diffuſing *real* liberty; for no man can be ſo uninformed as not to know, that not only the liberty of *Europe*, but the liberty of *America*, the influence of religion, the ſecurity of property, and the happineſs of the preſent and future generations are equally involved in the preſent cauſe, which, if not ſucceſsfully oppoſed, will have worſe conſequences than when the irruption of the northern hordes

——————— " of loſt mankind,
Drove martial horde on horde with dreadful ſweep,
And gave the vanquiſh'd world another form *."

The public opinion and the law of the land being in uniſon, the meaſures of deſperate men appear to be peculiarly and dangerouſly regulated by legal ſubtlety and political advice, now tortured to miſlead and confound public opinion; the following will ſhew plainly their plan, when they think caution leſs neceſſary. In a letter I received from *India*, dated March, 1793, is the following paſſage:

* *Thomſon.*

"There is ſuch a rapid ſucceſſion of revolutions in *France* that there is no following them with conjectures; they are now, as a republic, more in uniſon with their principles than when they retained a King; the violences which are perpetrated by their mob, who are clearly only inſtruments in the hands of vicious, worthleſs men, excite horror and deteſtation. You would ſcarcely ſuppoſe that any of the ſeditious men you have at home, would be induſtrious enough to ſend any of the infernal ſeeds to this country; but certain it is, that a Mr. *Cooper*, I believe, of *Manchester*, has written a moſt extraordinary letter to Mr. ****, one of our chaplains, wherein he expreſſes, in the plaineſt terms, his ſatisfaction that religion of every denomination is ſcouted in *France*, and his hope that it will very ſoon be totally aboliſhed throughout the world; he ſeems to look with pleaſure to the decapitation of the King and "eke his Queen;" he ſays that he has written a book againſt monarchy and Kings, from which he expects to derive reputation as a writer: I wiſh that gentleman was ſent to *Botany Bay*."

The above extract contains the ſummary of *French* doctrines, promulgated by thoſe who inſolently conſtitute themſelves the delegates and voice of reformation which are to *awaken* the people of *England* to a co-operation with the *French* regicides; it alſo contains the hearty wiſh of every inſulted *Engliſhman*, in all quarters of the globe, who can eſtimate the degree of impiety and treaſon couched in the doctrine. The critical ſituation of *Europe* under its moſt calamitous aſpect, at leaſt impoſes a fortunate neceſſity of rejecting half meaſures, and will occaſion an unequivocal ſeparation of thoſe men who, by deſperate ambition or principles, or infatuation, can palliate or adopt ſuch diabolical tenets, from thoſe who thankfully acknowledge the bleſſings of true liberty, and can ſubmit to fear God and honour the King. During the laſt century, a ſtruggle to maintain the eſtabliſhed church of *England*, traced with blood the political circle, which *Polybius* * ſo well deſcribes; ſince that period *Great Britain* has increaſed in

* Αυτη πολιτειων ανακυκλωσις. Polyb. Hiſt. p. 637.

power and in riches; the *Carthaginians* heretofore ſtood "the only people in the univerſe upon whom immenſe wealth was never able to work its uſual effect;" they were never accuſed of luxury or effeminacy: I have entire confidence that at preſent, as well as on any future criſis, we ſhall revive a bright example by aſſerting the true religion of our fathers, and the principles of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution as ſettled at the revolution, after being preſerved by piecemeal at different periods by deluges of noble blood; they muſt ſtand or fall together: for "if, as is unqueſtionably the caſe, laws are vain without morals, the well-being of every nation depends as much on its virtue as upon its laws. Slow the ſteps may be by which the deſtruction of the moſt profligate people advances; as the moſt intemperate man may be ſeveral years before he ruins his conſtitution; but the event in each caſe is alike certain. It is as certain that vice will at laſt deſtroy any ſtate, as that it will any individual." Even at the period of the revolution, "the civil liberties to which we were reſtored being uſed as a

cloak of maliciouſneſs, and the moſt horrid doctrines ſubverſive of all religion, being publicly avowed both in diſcourſe and writings, it was found neceſſary again for the civil power to interpoſe, by not admitting thoſe miſcreants to the privileges of ſociety, who maintained ſuch principles as deſtroyed all moral obligations; to this end the ſtatute of 8th and 10th King *William* III., cap. 32, was paſſed *." The reſponſibility of the conſtitution for the repreſſion of violent and flagrant aſſaults on the eſtabliſhed church, has enabled *Great Britain* to give toleration in the wideſt extent that ſpiritual conſiderations can require, connected with the moſt extended civil liberty.

I have now adduced more than I propoſed when I undertook to give a political analyſis of *Britiſh India*; I have traced principles to render them intelligible, without reviving the private or public intereſts and animoſities which divided and guided the attention of *Great Britain* during its progreſs to empire; I have, with

* *Blackſtone*'s Commentaries.

equal firmneſs, and, I hope, candour, reſiſted the unfounded aſſumptions of the ſupporters and adviſers of adminiſtration, and the unfounded cenſure of its opponents; I have referred to known authorities, and in general have adopted their words, it being more important to ſtate accurately the extent to which I adopt their facts, without pledging myſelf to admit all their concluſions; and I have, with equal fairneſs, adduced, as far as poſſible, in their own words, the hints for practical adminiſtration, which, for ſome years paſt, I had ſtored from ſound information of honourable and ſenſible men: the few who are alive will not require a formal apology from me for having diffuſed their information without their knowledge; but in the inveſtigation of truth its friends muſt be drawn forth; "in quo tamen ego quid eniti, aut efficere poſſim, malo in aliorum ſpe relinquere quam in oratione ponere mea *."

With reſpect to the gentlemen nominated for the ſuperviſion and for the admini-

* *Cic.* Orat. in *Q. Cæcil.*

ſtration of *Britiſh India*, and to the gentlemen who ſtand forth to cenſure or amend, (I cannot adduce words of leſs authority than of Lord *Clive*) "they are the beſt judges whether their abilities and integrity are equal to the important ſervice in which they engage; had they known the *Eaſt Indies* as well as I do, they would ſhudder at the bare idea of ſuch perplexing and difficult ſervice; the moſt rigid integrity, with the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, the greateſt abilities, with reſolution and perſeverance, muſt be united in the man or men who undertake to reform the accumulating evils which exiſt in *Bengal*, and which threaten to involve the nation and the Company in one common ruin*:" I now conclude with a ſincere, and, I hope, well-founded wiſh, that a vigorous and judicious adminiſtration, with the powers veſted by the act of 1793, may for ever maintain the principles of proſperity and union in *Great Britain* and in *Britiſh India*.

* Lord *Clive*. Debate, in 1773, on ſending ſupervifors to *India*. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 185.

THE END.

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